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Table of Contents

Editor's Comments 80

A Century of Fishery Biology at Cape Ann, Massachusetts, by RALPH W. DEXTER 81

A Voyage to Java in 1799-1800, by FRANK B. EVANS, III 86

The Dismission of Capt. Isaac Phillips, by MICHAEL A. PALMER 94

Cape Verdeans in the American Whaling and Sealing Industry, 1850-1900, by BRITON COOPER BUSCH 104

The Education Department at the Peabody Museum of Salem, by GAIL P. HERCHER 117

In the Midst of a Great Excitement: The Argosy of the Revenue Cutter *C. W. Lawrence*, by JAMES P. DELGADO 119

Book Reviews 132

Editor's Comments

THIS Spring issue of the *Neptune* contains a varied series of articles dealing with maritime activities in the four corners of the world, and several others of general interest to those concerned with naval and merchant shipping. We start with Ralph W. Dexter's account of how marine biology in this country began to be important in an article entitled, 'A Century of Fishery Biology at Cape Ann, Massachusetts.' Dr. Dexter's article explains the origins of this branch of marine science in the United States which eventually resulted in the oceanic scientific research now being carried on at locations like Wood's Hole, or the Scripps Institute.

The next article by Frank B. Evans, III, tells the story of an early trip to Java in 1799-1800 by American mariners which was part and parcel of sailings that eventually made Salem one of the leading centers of the pepper trade with the East Indies in the years ahead. Interestingly enough, a third article tells of an event which took place at about the time of the Quasi-War with France, concerning the impressment of American sailors by British authorities during these years. It is an account of 'The Dismission of Capt. Isaac Phillips' by Michael A. Palmer. In it Palmer makes it clear that Phillips should indeed have been removed from his command of the sloop-of-war, *Baltimore*, and that his long fight for vindication, which eventually led to his exoneration in the 1820s, was based on 'expost facto explanations, misrepresentations and outright lying.' This is one time when justice was *not* served by reopening a former case.

Quite a different note is sounded in Briton C. Busch's article, 'Cape Verdeans in the American Whaling and Sealing Industry, 1850-1900.' Busch shows how important the inhabitants of these Portuguese islands off the coast of Africa were to the American whalers who put in there. He also shows how they were discriminated against because of the darkness of their skins. Racial prejudice then was not confined to the antebellum South, but was to be found on ships which were representative of a cross-section of New England's maritime community.

The last two articles also deserve some special comments. The first of these, by Gail P. Hercher, is the third in a series we have been running on how maritime history can be taught. She lays out our own Peabody Museum's role as an educational center and how its program of teaching about the sea and kindred matters is organized. Other museums with similar educational programs and problems should find her account of real value. And finally, we have James P. Delgado's interesting 'In the Midst of a Great Excitement: The Argosy of the Revenue Cutter *C. W. Lawrence*.' This is a detailed account of the activities of this vessel which throws light on maritime conditions in San Francisco, Hawaii, and the rest of the California coast during the days of the great gold rush in the years of the mid-nineteenth century, when probably the major problem was keeping a crew intact in the face of the gold fever of the time. It also points up the lawlessness of this period in the teaming and chaotic harbor inside the Golden Gate.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

Salem, Massachusetts

A Century of Fishery Biology at Cape Ann, Massachusetts

By Ralph W. Dexter

THE city of Gloucester on Cape Ann is not only known as one of the great fishing ports of North America, but also has been involved in the development of the fisheries, and as a center for fishery biology at certain periods over the past century.[1] One of the first scientific studies of marine fishes in this area was conducted by F. W. Putnam, a young student of Louis Agassiz, at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology. In 1856 Putnam published the first 'List of Fishes of Essex County, Massachusetts.'[2] Practical fishery biology, however, did not begin until 1871 when the U.S. Commission for Fish and Fisheries was established, and Dr. Spencer F. Baird, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, was chosen as the first commissioner of fish and fisheries.[3] His appointment was ideal because of his own extensive experience in ichthyology, his skill in administration, and his ambition to develop a first-rate scientific program for the fishing industry. In 1877 he established the Gloucester Station for fisheries investigation as part of his commission, and the steamer *Speedwell* was assigned to aid in the work at Gloucester.

Capt. Stephen J. Martin was placed in charge of the station to collect information on, and specimens of, commercial fishes from the local fishermen. His office was located at Fort Point on Gloucester Harbor which is referred to today as 'The Fort.' Over the following two years, experiments were conducted there on hatching codfish. This special project was under the charge of Dr. Tarleton N. Bean, a noted ichthyologist, during the summer of 1879, and was continued after that time by A. Howard Clark.[4] Captain Martin, superintendent of the wharf, secured cooperation from the local fishermen to donate fishes, for experimental purposes, and specimens of many types of marine organisms, especially unusual marine life, for museum collections. They donated 532 specimens during the year of 1879. Dr. Baird gave some of this collection to the Cape Ann Scientific and Literary Association (now Cape Ann Historical Association) in return for the cooperation he received from Gloucester fishermen. Also in 1879, G. Brown Goode and T. H. Bean published *A Catalog of the Fishes of Essex County, Massachusetts*.[5] Altogether, 104 species are listed and data from the Gloucester Station are included. They wrote '—the zeal of the Gloucester fishermen was instrumental in adding many new species to the list. Too much cannot be said in commendation of the captains and crews of the off-shore fishing fleet, who have taken an active part in the scientific exploration of the fishing banks, and who have brought in during the past eight months several thousand natural history specimens.' Further in 1879, Addison E. Verrill of Yale University published a 'List of Collections Made by the Fishing Vessels of Gloucester and other New England Seaports for the U.S. Fish Commission from 1877-1880.'[6]

1. See J. J. Babson, *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Including the Town of Rockport* (350th anniversary ed. with introduction and historical review by J. E. Garland, Gloucester: Peter Smith, Publisher [1860] 1972), 610 pp.; J. R. Pringle, *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (Gloucester: Privately published, 1892), 340 pp.; G. H. Proctor and F. Proctor, *The Fisheries of Gloucester, from 1623 to 1876* (Gloucester: Proctor Bros. Publisher, 1876), 88 pp.; S. Smith, *Fisheries of Cape Ann* (Gloucester: Gloucester Times Press, 1915), 131 pp.

2. F. W. Putnam, 'List of Fishes of Essex County, Massachusetts,' *Proceed. Essex Institute*, I (1856), 1, 144, 148.

3. D. C. Allard, Jr., *Spencer Fullerton Baird and the U.S. Fish Commission* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 424 pp.; J. S. Billings, 'Biographical Memoir of Spencer Fullerton Baird, 1823-1887,' *Nat. Acad. Sci., Biog. Mem.* III (1895), 141-160; W. H. Dall, *Spencer Fullerton Baird, a Biography* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Press, 1915) 462 pp.; J. L. McHugh, 'Trends in Fishery Research,' in: N. G. Benson, ed., *A Century of Fisheries in North America* (Washington, D.C.: Spec. Pub. no. 7, American Fisheries Soc., 1970), pp. 25-56.

4. A. H. Clark, 'The Fisheries of Massachusetts,' in: G. B. Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Printing Office, 1887), pt. 3, sect. II, pp. 137-77.

5. G. B. Goode and T. H. Bean, 'A Catalogue of the Fishes of Essex County, Mass., Including the Fauna of Massachusetts Bay and the Contiguous Deep Waters,' *Bull. Essex Institute* II (1879), 1-38 (quotation, pp. 1-2); R. W. Dexter, 'The Scientific Period of the Cape Ann Scientific and Literary Association and its Successors, 1873-1952,' *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, CIX (1973), 165-74.

6. A. E. Verrill, 'List of Collections Made by the Fishing Vessels of Gloucester and other New England Seaports for the U.S. Fish Commission from 1877-1880,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1879*, VII (1882), pt. 7, 787-835.

In 1880 Capt. H. C. Chester, R. E. Earll, and F. N. Clark continued experimentation with artificial propagation of codfish at the Gloucester Station. This work led to a report by R. E. Earll on 'A Report on the History and Present Condition of the Shore Cod Fisheries of Cape Ann, Massachusetts, Together With Notes on the Natural History and Artificial Propagation of the Species.'[7] In 1881 the wharf was sold and headquarters had to be moved, but Captain Martin continued to gather reports from the arriving fishing vessels and kept daily records of water conditions, water temperature, etc. That year the *Bulletin of the U.S. Fish Commission* was established. Frequent articles were published by Captain Martin, Capt. Joseph W. Collins, R. E. Earll, T. H. Bean, A. Howard Clark, and W. A. Wilcox from the Gloucester Station. In addition, G. Brown Goode with Captain Collins, Earll, and Clark from the Gloucester group published a very extensive report on 'Materials for a History of the Mackerel Fishery,' including fishery biology.[8]

In 1885 Dr. Baird instituted a program of collecting fishery statistics at Gloucester with R. E. Earll in charge. Also that year, the schooner *Grampus* (90 feet long; 83 tons) was constructed for the fish commission and put into operation the following year. Gloucester was the home port with Capt. Joseph W. Collins as commander of the vessel. It was he who had proposed the construction of a vessel for fisheries work, which was used primarily at first to collect spawning fishes and egg-bearing lobsters, and deliver them to the hatcheries.[9]

During the period of 1883-1887, W. A. Wilcox, formerly secretary of the Boston Fish Bureau, was placed in charge of the Gloucester Station with Captain Martin as his assistant. Wilcox published a monthly series on 'The Fisheries of Gloucester, Massachusetts' in the publications of the Fisheries Commission.[10] In 1887, A. Howard Clark published the section 'The Fisheries of Massachusetts' in George Brown Goode's classical monographs on *The Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the U.S.*[11] Other Gloucester authors who contributed to these monumental volumes included Captain Collins, Earll, and Wilcox. That same year, George Brown Goode succeeded Dr. Baird as U.S. Fish Commissioner and established the Division of Fishery Statistics with R. E. Earll as chief of the division. Earll was a recognized authority on fishery exhibits, fishery statistics, and the natural history of shad and herring.[12] At that time Captain Martin resumed charge of the Gloucester Station.

Between 1880 and 1886 Alpheus Hyatt operated a summer marine laboratory at Annisquam. For the first two seasons, one room in his home on Goose Cove was devoted to the seaside laboratory sponsored by the Boston Society of Natural History and the Women's Educational Association of Boston. Later, he obtained the use of a small building on Lobster Cove where a windmill was erected to pump seawater into the building for the saltwater aquaria. The principal instructor was B. H. Van Vleck who had earlier published a popular key, with the noted ichthyologist David Starr Jordan, to the vertebrates of the northern United States including the fishes. Largely through the influence of S. F. Baird, Hyatt moved his laboratory after the season of 1886 to Woods Hole, Massachusetts, where it became the famous Marine Biological Laboratory.[13]

In 1888 Captain Collins was placed in charge of the Division of Fishery Statistics. That year the new fish hatchery was built on Ten Pound Island and E. M. Robinson served as superintendent. At first the work was confined largely to hatching codfish and pollock, but later flatfish and lobsters were added to the program. Capt. J. W. Collins, commander of *Grampus*, brought fishes and lobsters to the hatchery from the various collecting sites along the coast. Later the vessel was used for fisheries research with Capt. Edward E. Hahn in charge.[14]

7. R. E. Earll, 'A Report on the History and Present Condition of the Shore Cod Fisheries of Cape Ann, Massachusetts, Together With Notes on the Natural History and Artificial Propagation of the Species,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1878*, VI (1880), 685-740.

8. G. B. Goode, J. W. Collins, R. E. Earll, and A. H. Clark, 'Materials for a History of the Mackerel Fishery,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1881*, IX (1884), 91-531.

9. J. W. Collins, 'Report on the Construction and Equipment of the Schooner *Grampus*,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1887*, XV (1891), 437-90.

10. W. A. Wilcox, 'The Fisheries of Gloucester, Mass.,' *Bull. U.S. Fish Com. for 1887*, VII (1889), 66-90.

11. See note 4 above.

12. G. B. Goode, 'Robert Edward Earll,' *Science* III (1896), 471-72.

13. A. Hyatt, 'Sketch of the Life and Service to Science of Prof. Spencer F. Baird,' *Proceed. Boston Soc. Nat. Hist.*, XXIII (1888), 558-65; R. W. Dexter, 'The Annisquam Sea-side Laboratory of Alpheus Hyatt, Predecessor of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, 1880-1886,' in: M. Sears and D. Merriman, eds., *Oceanography: The Past* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1980), pp. 94-100.

14. T. H. Bean, 'Report on the Propagation and Distribution of Food-fishes,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1894*, XX (1896), 20-80;

Between 1890 and 1892 Captain Collins served as representative for the U.S. Fish Commission at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. Models of fishing vessels and their historical development were prepared for the exposition under his supervision.[15]

In 1894 the lobster hatchery was further developed at Ten Pound Island with Capt. A. C. Adams, a former master of *Grampus,* appointed as fish-culturist. Three years later fish-culturist C. G. Corliss was appointed superintendent in charge of the fish hatchery on Ten Pound Island replacing E. F. Locke. Eggs of mackerel were also being hatched at that time, but between 1900 and 1903 only codfish and lobsters were hatched and raised.

In 1903 the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries was reorganized as the Bureau of Fisheries in the Department of Commerce. That same year, experiments were conducted on lobster culture at Annisquam, a suburb of Gloucester on the Annisquam Tidal River. A float was constructed with large, suspended scrim bags to hold the eggs and larvae. George H. Sherwood was in charge of the operation, but unfortunately everything was lost during the gale of 11 July 1903.[16] Little was done in fishery biology at Cape Ann over the following quarter of a century. The lobster hatchery was closed between 1919 and 1936. However, a summer resident in the Annisquam area at that time was a professional marine biologist. Dr. William D. Hoyt, Sr., a scientific assistant for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, 1902-1909, was a specialist on marine algae, and later published a report on his field studies of marine algae in the publications of the Bureau of Fisheries.[17]

In 1927 work in fishery biology was resumed at Gloucester. Henry M. Bearse from the Boston office of the Bureau of Fisheries trained local fishery aides to obtain fishery statistics on the catch and to make measurements of sample specimens (length, weight, sex; with collection of scales and otoliths for determining age). In 1938 Richard Marchant was hired in the Fishery Statistics Office and served for many years in that office. He was also a student of marine life on Cape Ann.

In 1940 the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries was reorganized as part of the Fish and Wildlife Service (now known as the National Marine Fisheries Service). That same year a special publication was issued on parasites of the redfish (also known as rosefish and ocean perch) of which Henry Bearse of Gloucester was one of the authors. Beginning in 1943, Andrew Anderson served as chief of statistics followed in later years by Charles Lyells and Dwight Hoy. Also beginning in 1943, Dr. Alfred Perlmutter was stationed at Gloucester to head up the redfish investigation. A fishery biology laboratory was established in the basement of the U.S. Post Office building on Dale Avenue. Later this was moved to the old Net and Twine Company building on Maplewood Avenue, and finally to the old Bell Telephone building on Elm Street. Fishery aides included Claude Bocken, Harry J. Turner, Jr. (who was soon replaced by George M. Clarke), and Samuel Burgess.[18] Before Turner left, he published a report on the importance of silver hake (whiting) to Gloucester in the *Yearbook of the Gloucester Master Mariners' Association.*[19] Dr. William C. Herrington at the Cambridge office in charge of fishery biology, supervised the Gloucester project which was concerned largely with studies on growth, parasites, and population fluctuations of redfish. Dr. Perlmutter and his assistants published a series of papers on their researches on redfish biology.[20] When Dr. Perlmutter left Gloucester, fishery biology research supported by the federal government terminated locally, but statistics were still compiled, and fish measurements collected from Gloucester landings were sent to the Fisheries Biolog-

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H. M. Smith, 'The American Lobster,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1897,* XXIII (1898), 229-38; R. W. Dexter, 'History of Culturing the American Lobster *(Homarus americanus)* in the United States' (in press).

15. T. H. Bean, 'Report of the Representative of the U.S. Fish Commission at the World's Columbian Exposition,' *Rept. U.S. Com. Fish and Fisheries for 1894,* XX (1896), 177-96.

16. G. H. Sherwood, 'Experiments in Lobster Rearing,' *Rept. Com. of Fish and Fisheries for 1903,* XXVII (1905), 149-74.

17. W. D. Hoyt, 'Marine Algae of Beaufort, North Carolina, and Adjacent Regions,' *Bull. U.S. Bur. Fisheries,* XXXVI (1920), 368-556.

18. Personal communication from Bearse, Bocken, and Clarke.

19. H. J. Turner, Jr., 'Whiting, the Silver Mine of Gloucester,' *Yearbook of the Gloucester Master Mariners' Association* (1943), p. 7.

20. W. C. Herrington, H. M. Bearse, and F. E. Firth, 'Observations on the Occurrence, Life History, and Distribution of the Redfish Parasite *Sphyrion lumpi,*' *Special Sci. Repts., Fishery Pub., Fish and Wildlife Service,* SSR-5 (1940), 12 pp.; A. Perlmutter, 'The Positional Pattern of Copepod *Sphyrion lumpi* on the Rosefish, *Sebastes marinus,* and its Relationship to the Behavior of the Fish,' *Copeia* (1951), 97-98; A. Perlmutter, 'Population Studies of the Rosefish,' *Trans. New York Acad. Sci.* (Ser. 2), XV (1953), 189-91; A. Perlmutter and G. M. Clarke, 'Age and Growth of Immature Rosefish *(Sebastes marinus)* in the Gulf of Maine and Off Western Nova Scotia,' *Fishery Bull. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service,* LI (1949), 207-28.

A Voyage to Java in 1799-1800

By Frank B. Evans, III

On 10 April 1799 the ship *Asia*, Thomas Morgan master, departed Delaware Bay for London on the first leg of a voyage towards Canton. She left London in September, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and early in the new year reached Batavia Roads, where she lay for a month. For some reason unexplained, she did not complete her intended passage to Canton but returned directly to Philadelphia in July 1800.

Captain Morgan's journal of his voyage somehow came into the hands of Capt. William Bennett Gallagher (1831-1892) of Philadelphia, my great grandfather. I have not been able to trace its prior history. As we shall see, the conclusion of the journal itself poses a mystery perhaps related to the question of its provenance. William Gallagher could have acquired it through any one of several channels. His father, John Gallagher (1804-1881), also a Philadelphia sea captain, was the son-in-law of Capt. Joseph Harrod (1773-1817), a contemporary of Thomas Morgan. The family of William Gallagher's wife, Rebecca Berriman Thomson, also had connections with Philadelphia mariners and shipowners reaching back to Morgan's era. No family relationship to Thomas Morgan is known, but some personal, professional, or business association quite likely explains how his journal eventually came into William Gallagher's possession. However that occurred, the journal provides a new account of a voyage during the early years of maritime trade between Philadelphia and the Far East.

Thomas Morgan's *Asia* was one of several namesakes of the first Philadelphia-built ship to enter the China Trade, on a voyage to Canton under Capt. John Barry in 1787.[1] Lloyd's *Register of Shipping* lists her from 1799 through 1805. A full-rigged ship launched at Philadelphia in 1795, she was rated a first-class vessel of 342 tons, with two decks, built of live oak and cedar, sheathed with copper. Her owners were Sansom & Company, and she was regularly in the Canton trade. The 'Underwriters' edition of the *Register* names her master in 1799 and 1800 simply as 'Morgan' and thereafter as 'W. Morgan'; in the 'Shipowners' edition, the master is consistently 'T. Morgan.' Philadelphia city directories between 1794 and 1803 list a 'Thomas Morgan, merchant,' who lived on Mulberry (Arch) Street near Fifth and had his place of business on North Water Street. In 1799 and in 1803 the directories also list a Thomas Morgan, 'shipmaster' or 'sea captain,' living near the waterfront. The captain was probably a son of the merchant. W. Morgan may have been another son or grandson who commanded *Asia* later. The evidence of the journal is only that Thomas Morgan commanded her on the voyage in 1799-1800.

Thomas Morgan's journal is a smooth log written in ink in a bound ledger, measuring 8″ by 12½″, of unruled paper. He ruled the pages into columns, using half a page for each day's entries. These were copied from a rough log kept probably on a slate during each watch. Each day in the journal is a traditional sea day running from noon to noon. The accompanying reproduction of a typical page shows the arrangement usual at the time. Opposite the hours of the day are the courses steered, the speed in knots and fractions, and wind directions. Boxes below the hourly entries record the general course for the day and computations of the latitude and longitude at noon. The reason for ending a sea day at noon is interestingly reflected by Morgan's customary closing remark, 'Merdian [meridian] ends with . . . ' (some remark about the weather). On the day illustrated, cloudy weather happened to prevent an observation, but it was normally at noon that a mariner could most easily determine his position (or at least his latitude) by an observation of the sun's altitude at meridian.

The log begins with the heading 'A Journal of a Good Intended Passage by Gods Permission, on board the Ship Asia Thomas Morgan Master from Philadelphia towards London commencing April ye 10th 1799.' *Asia* had already worked down Delaware Bay and in mid-afternoon Morgan took his departure from

1. Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), p. 35.

H	Knots	½	A.M. Winds Occurrences on Friday 12th April 1799
1	Eby N.E.	7	" Hazy First part of this 24 Hours fresh brezes & cloudy
2		7	" Weather
3		7	"
4		7	" got the Bower Anchors in over the Bridles
5		6	"
6		6	" More Moderate and Tops'ls out the Topsails
7		4	" and Sett fore Topmast Staving Sail
8		4	"
9		4	"
10		4	"
11		3	4 Sett lower & main Topmast Staving sail
12		3	4 Longitude by Lunar Observations of the 6(D
1		3	4 at 4h 41m 15s is 58°30'45" West of Greenwich
2		3	"
3		2	"
4		2	" Wind shifted to the Southward in Staving
5		2	" Sails
6		1	"
7	NbE	1	4 E.NbE Emp. employ'd at Sundry Occasions
8		2	"
9	ABy E	3	4 Variable Meridian Obs. with moderate Brezes
10		3	4 & Cloudy Weather
11		3	4
12	ENE	3	4

Distance 92 30/46 Westerly

No Observation.

Course	Distance	Lat	Lat in	Dift	Long	Long in
Eastward	90	28	38.34	85	168	6.28

Log of *Asia* for 12 April 1799.

a point 'about 3 Leagues' southeast of 'cape Henlophen light house.' The crew unbent cables and stowed the anchors for sea. By midnight they had encountered the first of several spells of bad weather. Lying-to under a foresail in a strong northeast gale, *Asia* shipped much water and Morgan 'found the Ship to ungovernably to scend [rise] with safety, she being too much by the Head.' He moved aft the foremost water butt and a quantity of firewood, 'sent down the Mizzen Topgallant yard & Mast,' and found the ship 'to be much livelyer and in proper trim I think from the above arraignments.' A few days later she again experienced gales and rough seas, 'shipping a deal of water & labours a great deal,' so that the pumps were manned every hour or even half-hour. Within two weeks she was on the Grand Banks, where Morgan noticed the water discolored and 'many gulls and widgeons' around. He took soundings, and noted a rise in temperature from 35° one noon to 67° the next. After clearing the Banks *Asia* enjoyed generally better weather and with frequent westerly winds made good runs eastward.

England and France were at war in 1799 and there had already been several engagements between French and American ships in the undeclared naval war of 1798-1800. *Asia* was lightly armed. Entries in the log mention 'four pounders' and indicate that she carried perhaps as many as ten guns. As she approached the British Isles, Morgan took steps to resist French warships or privateers. On 1 and 2 May he had the crew prepare and fit 'ye Waste cloaths & Boarding Nettings.' Several days later a strange ship was sighted approaching on *Asia*'s starboard quarter. When it turned toward her, Morgan set all stunsails in an attempt to outrun his pursuer. Late in the afternoon she was so close that he 'calld all Hands to quarters scald the guns out and charge with round & grape hove too to receive her.' Except for the small powder charges to scale out the guns, however, there was no sea battle. The stranger proved to be the brig *Lively* of London,

bound home ten weeks from Cape Horn. The two vessels kept company for two days. Captain Smith of *Lively*, who had 'several Men down with the Scurvy,' came on board by boat and obtained some potatoes, chocolate, porter, and '6 foul.' After he left, wishing 'a Safe Arrival and many Thanks,' there was a real threat aboard *Asia* when the cook was discovered to have 'left a light below, which was dangerous to the setting of the ship on fire.' Captain Morgan 'coobd him for same,' meaning apparently that he had the man 'cobbed' or paddled on the buttocks.

Thomas Morgan's navigation during his transatlantic passage and later illustrates not merely the methods commonly employed at the time but reveals in particular his personal experience in coming to understand the value of the recently introduced method of ascertaining longitude by means of lunar observations. He had a sextant, with which he could readily determine his latitude, and a watch reliable enough to maintain local time for a reasonable period. But although chronometers had been in use for several decades, they were still expensive instruments and few ordinary merchantmen like *Asia* carried them. Without a chronometer, Morgan had no simple way to determine his angular distance east or west of Greenwich. Clearly he was familiar with the method of lunar observations and competent in using it before this voyage of 1799. But the method had been possible only since 1767, when tables of the predicted angular distances of the moon, sun, and certain other stars (as observed from Greenwich) were first published in the annual *Nautical Almanac*. Although lunar observations were fairly easy to take and gave quite accurate results, obtaining those results involved several tedious calculations.[2] Partly no doubt for this reason, but probably also because the method was relatively new, Morgan seems at first to have been somewhat reluctant to use it. He made only one lunar observation during the first two-thirds of his Atlantic crossing and only three more thereafter, always using the moon and the sun. These were the easiest bodies to use, for one would normally have a distinct horizon and could simultaneously obtain from the sun's elevation the necessary local time. An obvious limitation on the use of the sun was that it is visible simultaneously with the moon only in alternate weeks of the lunar month. Neither this limitation nor cloudy weather, however, explains the paucity of Morgan's lunar observations at the start of his voyage. After the Atlantic crossing, we shall find him making them, and using other stars than the sun, much more frequently and regularly. His experience in crossing the Atlantic, I think the data will show, increased his confidence in lunar observations and conversely his distrust of more traditional methods. In this respect Morgan was no doubt typical of the average navigator of his time.

Asia's track shows that Morgan relied on one very traditional, indeed primitive, method of solving the problem of longitude. He gradually worked northeast to latitudes just below that of the Scilly Islands at the mouth of the English Channel and then simply sailed east as closely as he could until he reached his destination. For the last nine days of the crossing his latitude never varied more than two degrees from that of the Scillies. Of course he also calculated his latitude and longitude, as mariners had done for centuries, with the help of traverse tables. With these he resolved his estimated distance run during a day into its north-south and east-west components in miles and converted these into differences of latitude and longitude in minutes of arc. Adding or subtracting these figures to or from the previous day's record gave his new latitude and longitude 'by account.' These calculations regularly appear in boxes below each day's entries in his log. Certainly he was aware that such dead reckoning was subject to many errors; nevertheless, he consistently maintained this account, without correction by observations, from his point of departure to his landfall in England.

During the transatlantic passage, Morgan's experience showed him very clearly how much more trustworthy were even a few lunar observations than dead reckoning. He made his first lunar observation at dawn on 13 April, his third day out, computing his longitude to be 68°30′45″ west of Greenwich. By account that noon it was 67°28′. Although he was steering nearly due east during the interval, *Asia*'s speed that morning was so slow that these figures could scarcely have been in agreement; what is more significant, Morgan carried forward his account not from his newly observed longitude but from the previous day's reckoning. Nine days later, when his longitude by account was 56° west, he spoke the ship *Union* of Boston, out fourteen days from Georgetown, Maryland; she reported her longitude by account to be 58° west. The

2. For a clear and concise explanation of the method of lunar observations, see Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 194-97.

custom of exchanging longitudes probably more often warned both captains of possible error, as on this occasion, than it gave them reassurance. At eight in the morning of 30 April Morgan made his second lunar observation and found his longitude to be 34°19′52″ west. An hour later he spoke the ship *Manchester* of Liverpool, bound home from Tobago and reporting herself in longitude 35°30′ west. Morgan recorded his own longitude by account that noon as 37°59′ west, but he also then began to carry forward from his observation as a parallel account in an additional box the figure of 33°48′. He evidently suspected that he was considerably farther east than his dead reckoning indicated. Two days later a third lunar observation made his longitude 29°47′45″ west, whereas by his original account it was 34°07′, a discrepancy of over four degrees. By 9 May the discrepancy was almost five degrees. Persuaded now that he was much nearer the Scilly Islands than he had supposed, Morgan hove to that evening and cast the deep-sea lead, finding no ground at one hundred fathoms. Next morning he sounded again and found bottom at sixty-five fathoms. In the afternoon his final lunar observation showed him to be in longitude 8°41′37″ west. He got the anchors over the gunwales. At eleven next morning, 11 May, he sighted the islands some ten or twelve miles to the northeast. They lie in about 6°15′ west. Morgan's final observation had probably been quite accurate. But his dead reckoning at noon that day gave his longitude as 10°06′ west, some 180 miles short of his landfall. As *Asia* passed the islands and bought some fish from a boat alongside, Morgan must have reflected that lunar observations, however cumbersome, were a vast improvement over dead reckoning.

On 13 May, when *Asia* was abeam of Portland Bill and thirty-three days out from Delaware Bay, Morgan suspended his sea account; *Asia* evidently proceeded with a pilot through the Channel and up the Thames to London. There she remained for almost four months. The journal resumes under the heading 'a Good Intended Passage . . . from London Towards Canton' with *Asia* at sea in the evening of 8 September leaving the Channel 'in company with his Majesty's Ship Lancaster & Convoy.' Heavy gales off the Bay of Biscay scattered the fleet for several days. In the morning of 25 September, *Lancaster* and her wards bore off for Lisbon and Gibraltar while *Asia* continued southwest alone.

Morgan's caution as a navigator and his increasing use of lunar observations are apparent as *Asia* made her way down the Atlantic. At midnight 3 October he shortened sail 'not to cross ye Latd of Salvages before Daylight.' He sighted that small island north of the Canaries next day and that evening made the Isle of Palma in the Canaries themselves. Five days later he hove to, 'not to approach ye Cape Verde Isles before day light.' While among the Cape Verde Islands he made an observation of the moon and Antares. This was his first use of a star other than the sun and the purpose of the observation was clearly not to find his position but to check how closely his observed longitude agreed with that of the islands as shown on his chart. The accuracy of his results must have given him even more confidence in the new method. He made three more lunar observations before he turned *Asia* eastward towards the Cape of Good Hope. As he was in mid-ocean and running southward, accurate longitudes were not crucial; these observations seem to have been more for practice than for need. He was properly much more concerned during this leg of the voyage about his latitude. Several times his noon observations for latitude led him to make corrections of ten to twenty miles in his dead-reckoning account.

From the Cape Verde Islands *Asia* made good a course nearly due south for a month. Although there were days of favorable northerlies, she was generally beating against the southeast trades and made slow progress. Morgan kept his crew busy mending sails, making and fitting new ones, 'spinning spun yarn,' weaving mats for cargo-handling, and setting up and repairing rigging. The carpenter caulked the sail room, the waterways on the lower deck, and the gun room. Toward the end of the voyage the ship's boats—a jolly boat, pinnace, and longboat—were painted. 'Cleaned Ship between decks & made fires below to dispell the foul air' and 'up all Bedding and hammocks to air' are routine entries in the log every two weeks or so. The broaching of barrels of salt beef and pork was duly noted. Vinegar, molasses, and 'pease' were issued, along with ship's bread, most of it procured in London but some described as 'Philadelphia.' Water casks were refilled with rain water, or when there was no rain with salt water to keep them tight. There is only one entry in the entire log, 'John Ruddock on Doctor's List' on 17 October, to indicate any sickness aboard. Thomas Morgan kept a busy and healthy ship.

A partial eclipse of the sun just north of the equator relieved some of the monotony of the voyage. Another event occurred 1 November when, 'having crossed ye Equator for the first time this Voyage, Old Neptune & his wife came on board visited those, not having passd this way before when shaveing & ducking was performd.' Fishing was not only a means of procuring fresh food but provided diversion and on one occasion a moment of excitement: 'Hookt a large Albicore who upon taking a shear carried the line from the Chieft Mate & one man & bringing up snapt the hooks being too large.' On 7 November *Asia* sighted an American vessel and 'bore down & spoke her being the Hope of Nantucket from the South Seas bound Home.' Captain Giles of the whaler 'politely offerd to take charge of letters'; he came aboard while 'we wrote to our friends' and Morgan supplied him with 'sundries.' Only two other ships had been sighted in the South Atlantic and no more would be seen for over two months.

Two weeks after crossing the equator *Asia* reached the latitude of 32° south, where Morgan, who had a seaman's eye for birds, 'Saw a Pintadoe Bird or Cape Pidgeon.' He turned southeast toward the Cape of Good Hope. By the middle of November *Asia* was in latitude 36° south, well below the Cape, and picked up the strong westerly and northwesterly winds that sweep across the South Atlantic and the southern Indian Ocean. For twelve consecutive days her course varied little from due east as she ran with 'all sail set before the wind' in cloudy but settled weather, spreading her stunsails when the wind was directly astern and shifting to staysails as it came on her port quarter. She logged 2,262 miles, averaging 188 miles a day at almost eight knots. Her best day's run was 224 miles. There were 'Many albatrosses about the Ship.' Three were caught, the wingspread of one measuring ten and a half feet.

During his approach to the Cape, Morgan made lunar observations for six consecutive days when sun and moon were simultaneously visible. *Asia* passed below the Cape on 25 November, too far south to sight land. Next day Morgan 'observed the Sea in an unusail & [un]common manner adgitated in so much that the Ship rolld so heavy that we where obligd to shorten sail for fear of the masts being rolld away.' She had doubtless encountered a rip where contrary Atlantic and Indian Ocean currents converged. Two days later a topmast crosstree was found to be broken and the topgallant mast had to be lowered on deck while a new crosstree was fitted.

That day was calm, but *Asia*'s crew often performed the difficult and dangerous task of lowering one or more topgallant masts in much worse conditions. Regularly when heavy weather was expected her royal and topgallant yards were sent down to the deck, and on seven occasions during the voyage all three of the topgallant masts themselves were gotten down to reduce weight and windage aloft. 'Launchd Topgallant Masts' is the usual entry. The forestays, shrouds, and backstays had to be cast off and the fid locking the foot of the mast in place removed. Then the mast had to be lowered by hand until it could be managed by a tackle. 'Swayed up the topgallant masts' notes the reverse process; but it was so routine that Morgan occasionally failed to make an entry in the log. Although these upper spars were comparatively light, it was no easy task to handle them some eighty feet above a rolling deck. Yet Morgan's entry about a second instance of damage later in the voyage seems altogether casual: 'found the fore Topgallant mast sprung in the cap sent it down & got another up.' Such entries in old logs surely qualify their authors as masters of understatement.

After repairing her topmast crosstree just east of the Cape, *Asia* continued eastward in the lower latitudes, as far south as 39° but not venturing into the Roaring Forties. Although she once logged 224 miles, equalling her previous record for a day's run, her progress was slower than in the South Atlantic. Morgan at the first opportunity resumed his practice of taking lunar observations, making six of them within five days. He had evidently picked the small islands of Amsterdam and Saint-Paul in the southern Indian Ocean as the point where he would turn northeast towards Java, and locating them was essential. Simultaneous observations of the moon and sun were impossible during the last week of his approach to the islands, but on 13 December *Asia* hove to, 'the weather being to thick to run for the land,' and next morning, passing three or four miles north of Saint-Paul, turned northeast. As she made her way up the Indian Ocean she was plagued by thunderstorms, calms, and 'Intense hot weather.' One afternoon Morgan recorded an unusual phenomenon:

wind shifted in a heavy squall attended with rain, two Whirl winds passd a head & too Windward of the Ship the Water flew up as high as the lower mast heads. saw a Bird in one which appeard it could not extricate itself by being carried a

long some time in ye Whirl wind & deprived of the power of its Wings—the above passd not more than a cable length from the Ship.

Morgan was uncommonly aware of birds, and the plight of this one was not lost on him.

In the month between his successful location of Saint-Paul and his landfall in Indonesia, navigation again became a matter of increasing concern. Morgan made six lunar observations during the two weeks when sun and moon were both visible. The longitudes he obtained began to show him one, two, three, four, and eventually five degrees farther west than those calculated by account. These discrepancies were in the opposite direction from those he had noticed in the North Atlantic. Observations for latitude also showed variances from his account, usually towards the north. In an effort to explain these discrepancies, Morgan attempted nearly a dozen times to ascertain currents by lowering a boat during calms or very light winds. A typical entry in the log is, 'lowerd down the Jolly Boat tried & found a current setting to ye SW quarter 6 fathoms p hour.' Several times he estimated the current to be as much as a mile per hour. Exactly how he 'tried' is not clear. He may have 'anchored' the boat by dropping a weighted drogue into water which he assumed would be below any surface current. There are several currents of considerable strength in the Indian Ocean, but Morgan's attempts to measure them were probably quite futile.

A peculiarity of *Asia*'s log-line is worth mention, although whether it contributed to the inaccuracy of Morgan's dead reckoning is doubtful. Early common logs were marked off or 'knotted' at intervals of seven fathoms (forty-two feet) and allowed to run out for thirty seconds, on the assumption that a mile at sea measured about 5,000 feet. By 1799, however, it had been known for over a century that a nautical mile (one minute of latitude) measured somewhat over 6,000 feet. In the nineteenth century the standard log-line was therefore knotted every eight fathoms (forty-eight feet) and the time ran for twenty-eight seconds. *Asia*'s log-line was marked, curiously, at intervals of forty-six feet (seven and two-thirds fathoms). Morgan totalled up each day as 'miles per log' the columns in his log marked 'K' and 'F' in which he recorded the whole number of knots and the extra fathoms run out each hour when the log was streamed. Usually he ignored fractional amounts in the sums, but when he occasionally did record them the denominator was always forty-six. Computing such an awkward fraction was cumbersome and at least once he made an error in his arithmetic. As there is no indication of what time interval he used, it is impossible to determine whether his unusual log-line gave theoretically correct results. If he employed a sandglass running for twenty-eight seconds (standard in the nineteenth century), he was consistently overestimating his speed and distance by almost 3 percent. An interval of twenty-seven seconds would have been required to produce accurate figures for speed and distance. Morgan did overestimate *Asia*'s progress in the Indian Ocean, but in crossing the Atlantic he had underestimated it. One cannot therefore assume that his formula was inaccurate in theory. *Asia*'s log-line in any event is an interesting example of one marked, transitionally, between the older and the newer standards. The accuracy of the common log depended even theoretically on very small measurements of time and length; in practice it was scarcely a precision instrument.

By 5 January Morgan's concern to establish his position accurately led him to make an observation that evening of the moon and Aldebaran which showed his longitude to be 96°26′15″ east of Greenwich. That was about five degrees west of his longitude by account but only half a degree different from his longitude carried forward from his latest observation of the sun and moon three days earlier. His noon observations for latitude showed that he was north as well as west of his dead-reckoning position. On 9 January he noted 'Ship sett 21 miles to the North more than courses & log will give her,' and on the next day 'diff Latid different 22 miles per course & log.' Worried that he was close to land, he got anchors over the bow and bent on cables. A second observation of the moon and Aldebaran at nine in the evening of 10 January made his longitude 99°08′ east, again five degrees less than by account. Trusting his observations, he altered *Asia*'s general course from northeast to southeast. At midnight 12 January an observation of the moon's meridian altitude made his latitude 4°13′ south and a noon altitude of the sun next day made it 4°22′ south. Quantities of seaweed and driftwood indicated that land was near. If his noon position by account on 14 January had been correct, *Asia* would have been, in fact, squarely ashore in southern Sumatra. Morgan hove her to 'with Main topsail to the Mast' early in the morning of 15 January, made sail at daybreak, and in

mid-morning sighted the island of Enggano, which lies about one hundred miles off Sumatra in latitude 5°24′ south, longitude 102°16′ east. *Asia* was more than two hundred miles west of where Morgan's account put her and nearly the same distance northwest of the entrance to Sunda Strait. Lunar observations had again demonstrated their crucial importance.

Next morning *Asia* made the Sumatra shore and ran along it back toward the Strait. For two days she worked through it past 'Cracatore Island' (Krakatoa). A 'prow and severall canoes' came alongside from which *Asia* purchased a welcome supply of fruit. Late in the afternoon of 18 January she came to anchor in Batavia Roads, nearly nineteen weeks out of London. Ironically, after a long voyage marred by no serious mishaps, her captain had to write in his journal next morning the one tragic entry it contains:

> at 5 A M when all hands was calld the Boy Aaron Archer was missing & could not be found on board the Ship, it appeard that in our former voyage, him and others had been in the habit of fishing at Night as he went to the chieft officer and requested a hook & line, which he granted. the Boy was in an Anchor Watch with one of the Seaman after he had rubbed the chalks out to settle the Watch, he went to the Starboard fore chains where he fished and it is supposd that he fell a sleep in the chains and from that over board and was drownd as he could not swim. and that was the last time he was seen by any body on board.

Poor Aaron Archer's life ended almost simultaneously with what was doubtless his first long voyage.

On her arrival in Batavia Roads *Asia* found there three American vessels, the ships *Commerce* of Baltimore and *Lydia* of New Bedford and the brig *Sally* of Philadelphia. For some reason not explained, *Asia* did not complete her intended passage to Canton. On the day she arrived, her captain and supercargo went ashore; but there is no mention in the log of what cargo she carried. She presumably discharged her freight and loaded again during the month she lay in the Roads.

Asia got under way 17 February for Philadelphia in company with *Commerce* and the brig *Fame,* another Baltimore vessel. The three ships spent thirteen days working around to and through Sunda Strait against adverse currents, anchoring each night. *Asia* fixed her boarding nettings and 'loaded the guns with round & grape.' Several times she sent her pinnace ashore on Java and once on Sumatra for water and firewood. A party of Malays came aboard with birds and monkeys to trade, but Captain Morgan thought their prices too high. He did, however, buy a 'large Buffaloe' for eight Spanish dollars and '5 grown fouls & 2 chickens' for one dollar. By noon of 7 March all three vessels were clear of the Strait; *Commerce* was out of sight, but *Fame* kept company until she dropped astern a week later.

Morgan took his departure from a point about twenty-five miles west of Java Head,

> hopeing for a safe and successfull passage, and a happy sight of our friends, and I return the Almighty thanks for all his mercies to me & those I have charge of
>
> T Mn

Several days later he made Christmas Island and, in generally favorable weather, ran westward and gradually south towards the Cape of Good Hope. As she approached the Cape, *Asia* encountered several severe storms which split sails and caused her to labor heavily and take on water. She was farther north than on the outbound voyage and made a landfall 28 April at Mossel Bay, east of the Cape. She worked around it, taking soundings regularly and finding bottom, but did not again see the land before she was in the Atlantic.

Short on bread, Morgan put his crew on an allowance of five biscuits per man per day. On 28 May he reached St. Helena and sent the second officer ashore to request permission to anchor. At James Town he reprovisioned with water, bread, potatoes, cabbages, three pigs, and onions. The ship *Ulysses* arrived next day under jury masts, having lost her spars in a typhoon en route from Canton to Boston. *Asia* was under way again on 30 May. She sighted the tiny island of St. Paul just north of the equator on 13 June. A week later Morgan saw the North Star, 'a gratefull sight that we have not experienced for this past 8 or 9 Months.'

During the return voyage Morgan made no fewer than thirty-three lunar observations, several times using the stars Spica, Regulus, and Antares. Experience had clearly taught him their importance. Otherwise, his journal entries are less interesting than those on the outward passage. Soon after leaving Java, the carpenter made 'trucks for the four pounders to train them,' but although a good many ships were sighted around the Cape and in the Atlantic, all proved friendly and there was no occasion to run out the guns. Approaching the American coast on 30 June, Morgan had

the lower sails hauled up and 'Exercised the great guns & small arms expended 11 charges of powder to scale the guns.' The ship was cleaned and bedding aired. Rigging was tarred, decks scraped, and the ship painted preparatory to entering port. A pilot came aboard off Cape Henlopen on 11 July and *Asia* anchored to await a fair tide up Delaware Bay. She had been at sea for fifteen months.

One blank page after the conclusion of *Asia*'s voyage, Morgan's journal resumes with the record of a voyage from Philadelphia to the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico in the sloop *Susanna*. He left Delaware Bay on the last day of March 1801 for Kingston, Jamaica, continued 'toward the Naches' to the mouth of the Mississippi, and proceeded thence to Havana, where he arrived 11 July. His account of this series of short voyages is of little interest except for entries concerning seven boardings of *Susanna* by British frigates and Bahamian privateers. She was thrice brought to by the firing of 'a great gun,' but otherwise Morgan was treated civilly and none of his crew was impressed into His Majesty's service. Most interesting of all, however, are the final few pages of the journal after *Susanna* departed Havana for home.

Morgan's customary heading for the passage indicates that he intended to leave Havana for Philadelphia on 27 July. He was evidently delayed, for a correction in the margin shows that at five in the afternoon of 28 July *Susanna* was towed from her anchorage out of the harbor by 'a Spanish Launch.' Except that she was boarded twenty-four hours later by HMS *Juno*, she ran without incident up the Straits of Florida. On 31 July she 'Spoke the Schooner Paragon, Fairchild master from Havana bound to New York. Inform us an Embargo had taken place on Tuesday the 28th Inst at 12 oclock.' At noon on 2 August, Morgan's journal abruptly ends. *Susanna* was then about one hundred miles southeast of Charleston. There is no indication that she was in any difficulty. Although there had been squalls earlier in the day, the last entry reads 'Light airs & calm.' Morgan had already ruled off the next page and begun to write the headings of the columns. The most plausible explanation for his failure to continue is that he was suddenly incapacitated. Yellow fever contracted in Havana inevitably comes to mind as a possibility. Whatever happened, Morgan survived, for a city directory shows that he was living in Philadelphia in 1803. When *Susanna* reached home under command of her mate, I conjecture, Morgan's journal came into the custody of someone from whom it has been passed down through half a dozen generations into my hands. It is an obligation of that unsought stewardship for me now to bring Thomas Morgan and his experiences in *Asia* to the knowledge of others who cherish every vestige of our seafaring history.

Dr. Evans, professor emeritus of English at the College of William and Mary, commanded a small minesweeper in the Pacific during World War II and has sailed extensively along the New England coast and in Chesapeake Bay. He has also written 'The Nautical Metaphor in "The Secret Sharer,"' in Conradiana *(1975).*

The Dismission of Capt. Isaac Phillips

By Michael A. Palmer

On a November day in 1798 fifty-five seamen were marched off the deck of an American warship and taken aboard a Royal Navy ship of the line. The captain of the American vessel was dismissed; there was no court-martial, no court of enquiry. A quarter-century passed before the dismissal gained much attention and by then key pieces of the puzzle were missing. The captain's report to the secretary of the navy was reputedly burnt; the secretary himself dead. Only the charges and the captain who denied them remained. And so for 160 years historians reargued the case, offered opinions, but could never say for sure whether or not the captain deserved to have been dismissed. His defense seemed so sincere; so vehement. But that defense might have been less sincere and less vehement if the captain knew that on another November day 185 years after the incident, the 'burned' report would be found not to have been incinerated, but simply misplaced.

On 1 September 1798 the American sloop of war *Baltimore* 20, Capt. Isaac Phillips commanding, sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia, in company with Commodore Thomas Truxtun's frigate *Constellation* 36, and sixteen merchant vessels in convoy for Havana. The instructions that sent Phillips to the rendezvous at Hampton Roads had only been drawn up on 9 August in Philadelphia by Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert. By the twenty-fourth the young captain had dropped down the Chesapeake from Baltimore and had reached Norfolk, showing remarkable energy and drive at a time when many commanders found a myriad of excuses for delay. Phillips arrived at Hampton Roads thirty-five men short of his full complement of 180. His crew contained only twelve experienced seamen and his officers were young and green. His water was 'so extremely bad, that there [was] no bearing even the smell of it. . . .' Nor had Phillips received a commission for his ship or his own captaincy. The latter had been sent from the Navy Department on 9 July, a full month before his orders, but had inexplicably disappeared. Nevertheless, Phillips was eager to sail and soon had his ship ready for sea, behavior that pleased both Truxtun and Stoddert.[1]

Alacrity was important, for the United States was engaged in an undeclared naval war with France and scores of French privateers were active throughout the Caribbean. Several had been cruising off Cuba's northern coast, prompting American merchants to call for protection. Stoddert responded with the dispatch of *Constellation* and *Baltimore*, but no French corsairs were encountered on the cruise south and the fleet reached Havana on 21 September.[2]

On the thirtieth, *Constellation*, *Baltimore*, and forty-three merchant sail headed east from Havana for the Straits of Florida and the American coast. The return voyage was marred by bad weather, and a single incident. Late in the evening of 30 September the small British privateer *Nancy*, operating from New Providence in the Bahamas, infiltrated the convoy and managed to get alongside *Baltimore*, both ships apparently mistaking each other for merchant ships. Master George Broadwater, an American from Virginia's Eastern Shore, was all set to board when he discovered his mistake. Phillips promptly seized *Nancy* and sent Broadwater the next morning to Truxtun. The privateer was released after being held for twelve hours and ordered away from the convoy. Phillips, however, asked Truxtun if Americans serving in *Nancy* could be taken from her and entered in the short-handed *Baltimore*. This Truxtun permitted, providing Phillips could 'ascertain beyond all Doubt, that they are Citizens of the United States.' He added: 'our Government wishes to be on good Terms with

1. Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert to Capt. Isaac Phillips, 9 August 1798, Dudley W. Knox, ed., *Naval Documents Related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France: 1797-1801*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1935-1938), I:284-85 (hereinafter cited as *QW*); Capt. Thomas Truxtun to Stoddert, 24 August 1798, ibid., 333-34; list of Truxtun's convoy from Hampton Roads to Havana, about 31 August 1798, ibid., 364.

2. Truxtun's Journal, 28 July 1798, ibid., 250-51; Stoddert to Truxtun, 10 August 1798, ibid., 288; Stoddert to Pres. John Adams, 25 August 1798, ibid., 336; Adams to Stoddert, 18 August 1798, ibid., 319; Truxtun's Journal, 1 September 1798, ibid., 370; Truxtun to Messrs. Barry or Palyart, Havana, 21 September 1798, ibid., 431.

Great Britain, and we must not counteract, what it desires.'[3]

Eight days later, about one hundred miles east of St. Augustine, Florida, Truxtun detached *Baltimore*, confident of the ability of *Constellation* to protect the convoy. Phillips was ordered to proceed to the coast off Charleston, South Carolina, where he was to cruise four days before heading north to rejoin *Constellation*, escorting the slower sailing convoy, at Hampton Roads. As the two ships parted, Truxtun noted that he was 'perfectly well satisfied with the conduct and attention of Captain Phillips.'[4]

On 16 October, sailing north along the Georgia coast, Phillips had the misfortune to cross paths with the frigate *Constitution* 44, commanded by Captain Samuel Nicholson, with the cutter *Virginia* 14, Capt. Francis Bright. Nicholson signalled Phillips to come to the frigate and there ordered him to sail in his company. It is uncertain, but probable, that Phillips protested, citing Stoddert's and Truxtun's orders, but Nicholson was the second-ranking captain in the navy, senior to Truxtun, and on his way to Charleston as well.[5]

On 19 October they came off Charleston bar and remained there at anchor until the twenty-fourth. Phillips was now overdue. That day, Nicholson, with *Baltimore* in company, headed south with eleven sail in convoy for Havana. An apprehensive Phillips left a letter with Bright for Truxtun, explaining the run-in with Nicholson. When Truxtun learned of the fate of his subordinate, he was infuriated, considering 'Nicholson's conduct as highly reprehensible. . . .' He clearly had the authority to order Phillips about, Truxtun admitted, but he feared that 'every plan of government may be frustrated by such proceedings, as those of Nicholson's, and the ships sent Lord knows where at the whim of an officer.'[6]

Nicholson's reasons for sailing to Havana are unknown. It has been claimed, incorrectly, that while off Charleston he received new instructions from Stoddert ordering the cruise. Nicholson had been patrolling the southern coast from Cape Henry, Virginia, to the St. Marys River, the border between Georgia and Spanish East Florida. In fact, new orders were issued on 8 October, but they instructed Nicholson to remain on the southern coast and then return to Boston, Massachusetts, by 20 November to refit for another operation. These new directives, addressed to Norfolk, definitely did not reach Nicholson before he sailed on 19 October. But they clearly demonstrate that Stoddert had no intention at that time of sending *Constitution* on a cruise to Havana from which a timely return to Boston would be impossible.[7]

Why then did Nicholson go to Havana? He may have judged such service to be of more value than cruising along a coast on which he had yet to sight a French vessel. But Truxtun, who had anchored off Charleston a few months before, suggested another explanation. He wrote: 'I had every attention shewn me by the merchants . . . they delicately hinted to me a wish, that I go to Havana.' At the time, Truxtun referred them to Stoddert, and their official requests were the reason for the dispatch of *Constellation* and *Baltimore* to Havana in September. In their correspondence with Stoddert, however, the Charleston merchants also expressed a desire that 'a good deal of money' which lay at Havana be brought north in a frigate. Stoddert sent the news to Truxtun, but too late to reach him before he sailed from Hampton Roads. Transporting specie in a public ship, the custom of freight, was permitted. The Navy Department provided guidelines—a .5 percent charge on the first $10,000, .25 percent on the remainder—but a commander was at liberty to charge whatever rate he chose, provided it was agreed upon by both parties prior to sailing. Truxtun made no mention in his log, journal, or correspondence of picking up the money. And as late as 1800, $300,000 remained in Cuba, still awaiting shipment north. Nicholson had a reputation of being a 'poor' and 'prize-hungry' captain. Had he been informed while at Charleston of the 'freight' awaiting some fortunate commander and decided to

3. Truxtun's Journal, 30 September 1798, ibid., 475; Truxtun to Phillips, 1 October 1798, ibid., 480.

4. Truxtun's Journal, 1 October 1798, ibid., 482; Truxtun's Journal, 8 October 1798, ibid., 506; Truxtun to Phillips, 9 October 1798, ibid., 506; Truxtun to Stoddert, 9 October 1798, ibid., 508-9. For background on the war itself see Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797-1801* (New York, 1966); Gardner W. Allen, *Our Naval War with France* (Boston, 1909); and Michael A. Palmer, 'The Quasi-War and the Creation of the American Navy, 1798-1801' (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1981).

5. Journal of Lt. James Pity, *Constitution*, 16 October 1798, *QW*, I:541.

6. Pity's Journal, 19 October 1798, ibid., 550; Pity's Journal, 24 October 1798, ibid., 559; Truxtun to Stoddert, 1 November 1798, ibid., II:1-2.

7. John F. Campbell in 'The Havana Incident,' *American Neptune* 22 (October 1962): 269-76 states that Nicholson received orders, since lost, to sail to Havana, but existing documents make it clear that no such orders were issued. See Stoddert to Capt. Samuel Nicholson, 13 August 1798, *QW*, I:295-96; Stoddert to Nicholson, 8 October 1798, ibid., 504; Stoddert to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, undated, but received at the State Department 16 October 1798, ibid., 538.

take along *Baltimore* with her two dozen cannon as extra insurance? Captains transported money at their own risk. What is certain is that Nicholson's cruise was unordered.[8]

Four days out of Charleston, mishap struck *Constitution*. On the morning of 28 October the frigate sprung her bowsprit. Nicholson decided to turn back, and the signal was made for Phillips 'to take charge of the fleet & proceed to Havana.'

The convoy, reduced to nine sail, was approaching Havana about 8:00 A.M. on 16 November when five warships flying Spanish colors were sighted to the northwest, standing on a course towards the southeast, Havana, and the American convoy. By 8:30 English colors had replaced the Spanish at the mastheads and the lead frigate fired a gun to leeward, a sign of non-belligerency. Phillips, flying the American flag, answered with a leeward gun of his own. The squadron was from Adm. Sir Hyde Parker's Jamaica station and included the signalling frigate *Maidstone* 32, Capt. Ross Donnelly; *Greyhound* 32, Capt. Temple Hardy; *Carnatic* 74, Capt. John Loring; *Thunderer* 74, Capt. John Cochet; and *Queen* 98, Capt. Man Dobson. The second-rate *Queen* was Sir Hyde's flagship for the Jamaica station, but the commander-in-chief was not aboard that November day. In fact, Sir Hyde rarely went to sea anymore. His forte had become administration, and the amassing of immense wealth in charge of the most lucrative command in the Royal Navy. Parker and his favored captains were growing rich, as the thirty-one ships of the station, comprising less than 5 percent of the strength of the navy, made one-third of all British captures, and Sir Hyde received his share, one-eighth. Prize-hunger was a spirit that permeated the station. And as Cuba was a colony of Spain, allied to France, ships carrying contraband to Havana were good prizes.[9]

In Sir Hyde's absence, John Loring was the senior captain, and flew a commodore's broad red pendant from the main topgallant masthead of *Carnatic*. The Lorings were emigrés, from Massachusetts. Joshua Loring, Sr., John's father, had been a captain in the Royal Navy before the American Revolution. John had followed in his father's footsteps, entering the navy and remaining loyal to the crown, making lieutenant in 1779, and captain in 1794. Brother Joshua Loring, Jr., likewise remained loyal, serving the king during the Revolution in Boston, Halifax, and Philadelphia, where his wife became renowned as Lord William Howe's mistress. Joshua's son, John Wentworth Loring, followed his grandfather into the navy and was also serving on the Jamaica station where he would soon gain promotion and command. Uncle John Loring, no doubt, held some personal animosity towards his ex-countrymen, who had confiscated family property and sung of his sister-in-law:

> Sir William, he, as snug as flea,
> Lay all this time a snoring;
> Nor dreamed of harm, as he lay warm
> in bed with Mrs. Loring.[10]

Phillips bore up towards the British squadron to speak *Maidstone*. At 8:45 *Carnatic* fired a leeward cannon and Phillips, seeing the commodore's broad pendant, headed for the flagship. The details of what subsequently occurred have remained shrouded in mystery. Three of the American merchantmen were seized. Phillips went on board *Carnatic,* in a boat sent for him by Loring, who informed Phillips that he intended to impress those men aboard *Baltimore* lacking protections. Later, on the deck of *Baltimore,* the crew was mustered and the ship's roll handed over to a British lieutenant, at the latter's orders, and fifty-five men were taken from her. Loring apparently had second thoughts, decided that impressing a third of *Baltimore*'s crew was going too far, and returned fifty men later in the day. He then sailed off, leaving Isaac

8. Truxtun to Stoddert, 1 November 1798, ibid., II:1-2; Stoddert to Truxtun, 31 August 1798, ibid., I:365. For the percentage earned in freight see Stoddert to Alexander Baring, banker, 9 December 1799, ibid., IV:504. For the money remaining at Havana in 1800 see Captain Alexander Murray to Stoddert, 27 February 1800, ibid., V:249. For questions about Nicholson's character see Timothy Williams to Pickering, 31 May 1798, ibid., I:96-97; and Stephen Higginson, navy agent, Boston, to Secretary of War James McHenry, 12 June 1798, ibid., 111.

9. Pity's Journal, 28 October 1798, ibid., 569-70; statement of Lewis Trezevant and William Timmons to George C. Morton, acting United States consul, Havana, 18 November 1798, ibid., II:26-27; Morton to Pickering, 18 November 1798, ibid., 26. See Dudley Pope, *The Great Gamble* (New York, 1972), pp. 5-14 for a discussion of Sir Hyde Parker's tenure in command at Jamaica. The British at this time were also routinely searching American ships in search of mutineers from the frigate *Hermione*, which would explain Loring's conduct and the subsequent release of the three merchant vessels and all but five of the impressed men. Research in the Admiralty records into British motivations remains to be done.

10. For information on the Lorings see North Callahan, *Flight from the Republic: The Tories of the American Revolution* (New York, 1967), p. 110; and Hugh Edward Egerton, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Royalists, 1783-1785* (New York, 1971), pp. 327, 328-29. The verse is from the song 'Battle of the Kegs' in Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York, 1969), pp. 216-19.

Phillips an enraged, embarrassed, and confused captain.[11]

By the final days of 1798, word of the incident had made its way to Philadelphia where it created a minor diplomatic flap. Rufus King, United States minister to Great Britain, was instructed to lodge an official protest. The British, who were always short of allies in their struggle with revolutionary France, could ill afford trouble with the Americans. King was assured that Loring's action did not represent official British policy. Lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs in William Pitt's cabinet, speaking for the king himself, promised an enquiry into Loring's conduct. It is clear, however, from Grenville's letter to King that Britain was not willing to yield on any principle of impressment, they simply considered it inexpedient at that time to permit actions that might cost them the commercial and naval cooperation of the United States. Loring's fate makes this clear. He was recalled in the spring of 1800. But with the signing of the Convention of Mortefontaine in September 1800 and the end of Franco-American hostilities, Loring found himself returned to service. By the end of 1801 he was in command of *Prince* 98, in the Channel Fleet under Adm. Sir William Cornwallis. Two years later he regained squadron command on the Jamaica station, in *Bellerophon* 74, in which he received the final French surrender at Cap François in December 1803, ending Napoleon's ill-fated attempt to reconquer France's most valuable Caribbean colony. All that, however, lay in the future. Grenville was anxious in 1799 to pacify the Americans. Action was taken to begin the release of impressed Americans serving in the ships of the Jamaica station. Rufus King relayed the mixed news back to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering in Philadelphia in dispatch number 32 of 22 March 1799. But something must have been in the air in London concerning the incident, for he sent Pickering a second message, number 33, that same day, requesting a copy of Phillips's report. He wrote:

It may be sent to me to be used if the Result of the Enquiry that has been ordered should render it expedient—My apprehension is that Loring will 847. 264. 964. [excuse] 834. 590. [himself] 200 [by] saying 710. [and] 955. 370. [attempting] 644. [to] 246. 212 [prove] 147. [that] 769. [the] 379. 47. 774. [commander] 1410. [of] 769. [the] 898. 641. 721. [*Baltimore*] 553. 204. 1269. 686. [acquiesced] 321. [in] 394. [or] 360. 204. 1290. [consented] 644. [to] *1105*. [*all*] 147. [that] 826. [was] 383. [done].[12]

King's encrypted request for a copy of Phillips's report came ten weeks after the latter's dismissal from the United States Navy, news of which had probably reached London. What had occurred off Havana? There had been no enquiry; no court-martial. Phillips had been summarily dismissed through the special executive authority of Pres. John Adams.[13]

The first attempt to construct an account of the Havana affair was Charles Goldsborough's, whose *The United States Naval Chronicle,* Volume I, was published in 1824. Goldsborough's history recounted American naval events from the Revolution through the Barbary Wars. (Subsequent volumes were never published.) The author was well placed to record the navy's history, having served as a clerk in the Navy Department between 1798 and 1813.[14]

Goldsborough spent nine pages relating the details of the incident off Havana. He recognized that it was more than simply an historical issue. Isaac Phillips had never accepted his dismissal. In 1799 he had addressed protests to Stoddert and those politicians

11. Phillips to Stoddert, 11 February 1799, *QW*, II:30-32. The three seized merchant ships were also released after being searched.

12. For background on the diplomatic consequences of the incident see Scott Thomas Jackson, 'Impressment and Anglo-American Discord, 1787-1818' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976), pp. 136-47; and Bradford Perkins, *The First Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1795-1805* (Berkeley, 1967), p. 99. See also Pickering to Robert Liston, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States, 31 December 1798, National Archives (DNA), Record Group 59 (RG), State Department Archives (SDA), Notes to British Legation, pp. 121-22; Rufus King, United States minister to Great Britain, to Pickering, 14 March 1799, DNA, RG 59, SDA, General Records of the Department of State, vol. 8, Diplomatic Dispatches from Great Britain, no. 28; King to Pickering, 15 March 1799, ibid., no. 29; King to Pickering, 22 March 1799, ibid., no. 32; and King to Pickering, 22 March 1799, ibid., no. 33 (decyphering written over coded sections in duplicate). For Capt. John Loring's later career see William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (London, 1850), III:205; and David Steel, *Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy* (London, 1801), the December 1801 edition of which lists Loring as captain of *Prince*.

13. American practice was based on English precedent. Commission officers served at the pleasure of the executive from which the commission emanated. As an example, the lieutenant's commission of Charles Stewart, dated 9 March 1798, reproduced in *QW*, VII: between pages 100 and 101, reads '. . . this Commission to continue in Force during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being. . . .' Removal by authority other than the president's required a court martial.

14. Charles W. Goldsborough, *The United States Naval Chronicle* (Washington, 1824), pp. 115-23; see also Allen, *Naval War*, pp. 77-81; Howard P. Nash, *The Forgotten Wars: The Role of the U. S. Navy in the Quasi War with France and the Barbary Wars, 1798-1805* (New York, 1968), pp. 87-88; Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of the United States Navy from 1775 to 1901*, 3 vols. (New York, 1910), I:171-72; and James Fenimore Cooper, *History of the Navy of the United States*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Cooperstown, New York, 1848), I:157-63.

whose support had gained him his captaincy. All to no avail. Following the War of 1812, however, Phillips renewed his campaign of vindication, still intent on restoring his commission as well. By 1824, restoration of rank and seniority would have made Isaac Phillips the senior captain in the United States Navy. Phillips knew of his 'friend' Goldsborough's work and made available to Stoddert's former clerk and the navy's first chronicler the material collected to support his defense.

With the relevant records from the Navy Department he could locate, and the material supplied by Phillips, Charles Goldsborough, as historian, found that he had a problem. The most damaging piece of evidence available to Goldsborough was Stoddert's letter of 10 January 1799 dismissing Phillips. It reads:

> Your Narrative of the transaction with the British Captain, near the Havanna, has been attentively considered,—and with every disposition to make great allowance, for the unprecedented Situation to which you were exposed, it is impossible to find an excuse for some parts of your Conduct,—among these, it will be sufficient to mention your tame submission to the orders of the British Lieutenant, on board of your own Ship. If you could not have resisted the assumption of Command of your Ship by that Officer: a point not to be admitted, surely you might have contented yourself—with passive submission—but you desended [*sic*] further, and actually obeyed his orders, to have all hands called, and to give him a list of their names. Under circumstances so degrading, it is improper that you should hold a commission in the Navy Service of the United States—and I am commanded by the president, to inform you, that your Services are no longer required.[15]

One can infer from this document that Phillips himself mustered the crew and gave the roll over to the British lieutenant at the latter's orders. Phillips, however, denied the implication claiming that when he returned from *Carnatic,* where he had gone to protest the seizure of the American merchant ships, he found, in Goldsborough's words, 'his crew mustered, with the consent of his first lieutenant [Josias Speake], obtained in his absence, by a British officer. . . .'[16]

What was required to provide a definitive answer was Phillips's report upon which Stoddert had acted, but, Goldsborough wrote, 'It is greatly to be regretted, that captain Phillips's original narrative; has shared the fate of many other official documents; it being burnt, in 1814. . . .' Goldsborough did not share Phillips's antipathy for Stoddert, rather, he held him in the highest personal esteem. But Phillips, too, was a reputable, established, respected gentleman, anxious to restore his honor besmirched by this single episode. Phillips had been a privateersman during the Revolution and a merchant master in the years after 1783. In 1798, though young and inexperienced, he had the political credentials and pull to be one of the first captains appointed. Truxtun, Stoddert, himself a Marylander, and Jeremiah Yellott, navy agent at Baltimore, had written highly of Phillips. Following his dismissal, Yellott gave him command of the ship *Mary* for a cruise to the East Indies. Returning from Batavia with a cargo of coffee and indigo, Phillips's ship was captured by the French privateer *Renommée* on 4 February 1800 and carried as a prize to Curaçao. There, the American consul, Benjamin Hammell Phillips, became acquainted with the young and unfortunate captain and wrote that he was 'exceedingly sorry that any thing shd [*sic*] have occurred to deprive the US of the abilities of this Gentleman.' Phillips's luck, however, changed for the better. By 1803 his concern, Isaac Phillips and Company, merchants of Baltimore, was a successful business, and a regular purveyor of pork and beef to the navy through John Stricker, navy agent at Baltimore.[17]

Unwilling either to brand such a man a liar, or to join him in attacking Stoddert, Goldsborough either discovered, or fabricated, a way around the problem. He claimed to recall, he wrote, having read Phillips's now-lost report at the offices of the Navy Department back in 1799, and as he remembered, it was ambiguous on the question of the mustering of the crew. It was unclear, he wrote, a quarter-century after the fact, *'by whom'* the crew had been mustered. Stoddert had apparently misinterpreted Phillips's meaning, an honest mistake, which was then compounded by the decision to dismiss the captain without the hearing or trial that would have revealed the error. The reason for the quick dismissal, Goldsborough again recalled, was to

15. Stoddert to Phillips, 10 January 1799, DNA, RG 45, M 149-1, Secretary of the Navy Letters to Officers, Ships of War (SNLO), p. 337.

16. Goldsborough, *Naval Chronicle,* p. 117.

17. For the 'loss' of the report see ibid., p. 120. For Phillips's subsequent career see Benjamin Hammell Phillips to John Marshall, Secretary of State, 20 February 1799, *QW,* V:237; B. H. Phillips to Marshall, 27 July 1800, ibid., VI:186-87; Marshall to William Vans Murray, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to France, 16 June 1800, ibid., 189; and DNA, RG 45, Contracts No. 1, June 1794-September 1811, pp. 211, 229, 231, 283, 344, 357. Phillips became navy agent at Baltimore in 1829.

make an example of Phillips, an unfortunate act, the former clerk wrote, but often necessary in time of war.[18]

This was just what Phillips wanted to hear and no doubt the ex-captain was pleased to see the publication of *The Naval Chronicle*. Goldsborough's entire treatment of the affair vindicated Phillips, who for long had claimed that he had been unjustly sacrificed as an example. Now Stoddert was dead and the only person who could have spoken for him, Goldsborough, either was unable or unwilling to challenge Phillips's claims. The original report was no longer extant. That the publication of *The Naval Chronicle* was important to Phillips is obvious, for he followed it quickly with a book of his own, reprinting several entire sections from Goldsborough's in support of his claim for vindication.

Thus in his defense published in 1825, Isaac Phillips was able to shed whatever restraints he had felt prior to the publication of Goldsborough's account. He could say and claim whatever he wished. The two major points of his work were his denial of the charges levelled by Stoddert, namely mustering the crew, and a second charge contained in another letter Stoddert had written to Phillips dated 20 February 1799.[19]

Stoddert's second letter had been prompted by Phillips's early political activity in his own defense. He mobilized his supporters in Baltimore in an attempt to pressure the administration to reverse its decision. Letters were written the officers of *Baltimore*, urging resignation in support of their ex-captain. Many did so, though not Josias Speake, who had been given temporary command. The resignations retarded the refitting of the ship and aggravated Stoddert who attributed them to Phillips's machinations. In addition, Phillips began emendating his explanation of events, a process that continued until 1825. As an excuse for his conduct with Loring and his lieutenants, Phillips claimed that he held private letters from Truxtun and Stoddert that directed him 'to keep on good terms with the British by every act of conciliation. . . .'[20]

This latter claim Phillips was unwise enough to address directly to the secretary, while the others found their way to Stoddert indirectly through the representations of Phillips's friends. Whatever sympathy Stoddert had held towards Phillips began to erode quickly. He wrote Richard Caton, one of Phillips's Baltimore supporters, that 'he [Phillips] has no private letter of mine—nor ought he to make such representation.' What Phillips did have was the letter from Truxtun of 1 October regarding *Nancy* and his official orders dated 9 August 1798 which contained the following:

> . . . You will receive herein an Act of Congress passed the Ninth day of July last, authorizing the Capture of the armed Vessels of the French Republic, also the President's Instructions founded on that Act. The Vessels of every other Nation are on no account to be molested, and I wish particularly to impress on your mind, that should you even see an American Vessel captured by the armed Ship of any Nation at War with whom We are at Peace, you can not Lawfully interfere to prevent the Capture, for it is to be taken for granted, that such Nation will compensate for such Capture, if it should prove to have been illegally made.[21]

Surely instructions, copies of acts of Congress and presidential directives were not 'private letters.' (Much could be read into Truxtun's letter, but it was Stoddert whom Phillips chose to attack.) And lest Phillips misunderstand the intent of the secretary's instructions, Stoddert wrote the ex-captain on 20 February.

> . . . It was your duty therefore, not to attempt to defend against the British Ships of War the Vessels, under your convoy—But it was not your duty to obey the order of the British Officer to hoist your signal to stop your convoy, and by so doing, assist to throw these Vessels into the power of the British Ships—But for this undue obedience on your part, the Vessels might have got into the Havanna—Though you had no right to protect them, except against the French, it did not follow that it would be proper to aid their Capture by the British . . . I make this explanation as well for the Gentleman with whom you communicate as yourself. . . .[22]

18. Goldsborough, *Naval Chronicle*, p. 120.

19. See Isaac Phillips, *An Impartial Examination of the Case of Captain Isaac Phillips, late of the Navy, And Commander of the United States Sloop of War Baltimore, in 1798. Compiled from Original Documents and Records, with the Proceedings upon his application to be restored to his rank in the United States Navy* (Baltimore, 1825).

20. Stoddert to Phillips, 20 February 1799, DNA, RG 45, M 149-1, SNLO, pp. 399-401.

21. See Stoddert to Richard Caton, 24 January 1799, *QW*, II:276-77; and Stoddert to Phillips, 9 August 1798, ibid., I:284-85.

22. Stoddert to Phillips, 20 February 1799, DNA, RG 45, M 149-1, SNLO, pp. 399-401. Federalist policy was not insistent on the principle 'free ships make free goods' and accepted the right of search of neutral merchant vessels by belligerent warships and seizure for carrying contraband of war. The Federalists were clearly distancing themselves from their Republican opponents and those who advocated 'armed neutrality' in Europe. It was not the navy's job to protect shippers who chose to transport contraband to ports of nations allied to France and at war with Britain. Britain did not accept the principle of 'armed neutrality' and in an incident off the Kentish coast in July 1800 the Danish frigate *Freya*, convoying six Danish merchantmen, refused to permit a search of her wards and was attacked by British frigates and forced to strike. The incident further strained British relations with the Baltic states, assisting the formation of the Second League of Armed Neutrality, that ultimately led to Lord Nelson's victory at Copenhagen. See Pope, *Great Gamble*, pp. 60-61 and passim.

This was a second damaging charge, that Phillips had ordered the convoy to halt at Loring's command. In his 1825 defense, Phillips not only denied it, but also claimed that he had in fact signalled the convoy to proceed into the harbor. Had Stoddert again misread the report? As for the charge that he had mustered the crew and turned over the roll, Phillips wrote: '. . . I was not on board when the hands were called and the list of names was put into the hands of the British Officer.'[23]

Isaac Phillips, however, was no longer content with mere denial. He wrote of an interview with Stoddert in Philadelphia on 9 January 1799, the day prior to his dismissal. At that meeting Stoddert had never indicated any possibility of dismission. In fact, when the secretary learned that Phillips had sailed without a commission in the summer, Stoddert ordered a clerk to draw up another, signed it, and personally handed it to the captain. This Phillips took to be the ultimate insult, for Stoddert was already bent on dismissing him. He was anxious to remove him from command so that his kinsman, Speake, could gain promotion. Phillips also produced letters from John Adams himself, written to a third party, which indicated that the ex-president had acted in the case on Stoddert's representations and that the latter had never passed on subsequent material supplied by Phillips in his own defense. Stoddert's behavior on 9 January, then, was ungentlemanly and duplicitous.[24]

The extent of the secretary's perfidy, in fact, knew no bounds. Phillips claimed that the dismissal in Stoddert's letterbook dated 10 January was not a copy of the letter he received. The actual note, he claimed, was short and curt and stated no specific reasons for dismissal. Stoddert apparently knew better than to address false charges directly to Phillips, the pattern of the 9 January interview all over again. Phillips provided testimony from witnesses who claimed to have read the actual letter of dismissal. Twenty-five years after the fact, however, could their memories be trusted? Phillips could no longer produce the letter. But he was willing to take an oath 'on the Holy Evangels of Almighty God' that the secretary's charges were false.[25]

Phillips's charges against Stoddert that appear in his 1825 defense are terribly damning. Anyone familiar with the character of Benjamin Stoddert could accept the possibility that the overworked secretary misread Phillips's report and in haste brought about his dismissal. But to believe that Stoddert would deliberately misstate the facts to Adams, lie, and manufacture correspondence to be written into letterbooks strains credibility.

The charge that the letter of 10 January in the secretary's letterbook is somehow different from the version sent to Phillips, seems improbable. Phillips's own letter of 11 February written in response to his firing includes the phrase '. . . evidence of my feelings which as a man . . . could not have been so *tame* [author's emphasis] as you have represented to me they were. . . .' This is obviously a direct reference to Stoddert's charge of 'tame submission' contained in the secretary's letter of dismissal still in the navy's files. Clearly, Stoddert did make specific charges against Phillips. But in that case, Phillips must have lied in 1825. Why? Because in his reply of 11 February to his dismissal, while Phillips offered additional details of the incident, he nowhere denied the charge made in Stoddert's letter of 10 January, indirectly acknowledging its truth. Since these two letters were still extant, to accept Stoddert's letter of 10 January as genuine, was to admit guilt. The authenticity of the letter itself, then, had to be denied.

There are other letters, however, which help to clarify Stoddert's behavior. In a letter to Truxtun dated 16 January Stoddert wrote: 'the President thinking the conduct of Capt. Phillips . . . every way improper, has thought fit to dispense with his future Services.' And in his letter to Caton, already quoted, Stoddert wrote regarding his interview with Phillips in Philadelphia on 9 January. 'I gave him [a commission], it not being determined at that time, to dismiss him [from] the service.' He also wrote in the same letter: '. . . the feelings of the people of this Country, are no more adverse, than the feelings of the President, to the sacrifice of an innocent man, to motives of policy. It was Phillips's own narrative of his own conduct, which dismissed him.' From these letters it seems evident that Adams's role in Phillips's dismissal was greater than the president chose to recall years later. Nor was the dismissal itself a warning to other captains. An example was not being made of Isaac Phillips. He was dismissed for cause, and that cause, in Stoddert's view, was clearly stated in the captain's report, a report burned

23. Phillips, *Impartial Examination*, p. 39.
24. Ibid., p. 13.
25. Ibid., pp. 11, 24, 41-43.

in 1814. Or so Charles Goldsborough and Isaac Phillips believed.[26]

On 11 January 1799 a letter was delivered to Timothy Pickering at the State Department. It read:

Dr Sir

The President gave me back the enclosed paper, to be delivered to you—observing, that what was advised, must be done.

I have the honor to be [&c.]
Ben Stoddert[27]

It is probable that this note was the cover letter for Phillips's report, given to Adams for his perusal, returned to Stoddert on 10 January with the decision to dismiss Phillips, and now forwarded to Pickering to help frame his protests to London. On the lower left-hand corner of the note is written: 'Paper not with letter this day Dec 15/1883, N.' Obviously, and understandably, the cover letter had been separated from the report, but also, if the paper was 'Phillips's own narrative,' it may have remained in the State rather than Navy Department files. So it did, for further on in the same collection one can find a report addressed to Stoddert from Isaac Phillips dated Norfolk, 28 December 1798, running for ten pages. The report is unnumbered and appears between documents labelled 6 and 7, indicating that it was placed in the file subsequent to original organization, after Dudley Knox's team of historians went through the collection in the early 1930s (for they made use of other documents therein), but before microfilming in 1949. The report, however, is not in Phillips's hand nor is the signature his.[28]

It is difficult to believe that Stoddert would go to the length of fabricating a false report, ten pages long at that, submitting it to the president, and then sending it to the State Department, all to frame Phillips, and yet keep no copy for the files of his own department. That it is not written or signed by Phillips is also explainable. Phillips reached Hampton Roads from Havana on 27 December 1798 and wrote Truxtun who was in port that same day. Truxtun replied, also on the twenty-seventh, noting: 'I shall be glad to see you to Morrow. . . .' Phillips must have requested an interview with his commodore, whose orders he was still under, to discuss what had happened. The next day, 28 December, the two captains must have met aboard *Constellation* where Phillips dictated his report to Truxtun who wrote it down. It does seem odd, that Commodore Truxtun would serve as Phillips's secretary and transcribe a lengthy report, but it must have been the case, for Stoddert wrote to Caton on 24 January that if he sought to form an opinion on the case, he ought to get a look at Phillips's report. 'He has a copy of the Narrative upon which he was dismissed, & the copy he has is in the hand writing of Capt. Truxtun. . . .' Perhaps Truxtun felt partly responsible, having permitted Phillips to take Americans from *Nancy* and confused his subordinate with his 1 October letter. Afterwards, Truxtun must have had a clerk make the copy now extant in the State Department records. That the duplicate was made in Norfolk is probable because some insignificant alterations were made on the second page, written between the lines. Had the copy been made in Philadelphia from an altered original, they would have been incorporated into the transcription. They are also in the same hand as the rest of the copy. As to why Phillips would give Stoddert the duplicate and keep the original in Truxtun's hand himself, anyone familiar with Truxtun's scrawl would understand. The duplicate, on the other hand, is beautifully written and easy to read. Probably for that reason Stoddert chose to keep the duplicate. Neither he, nor Phillips, were concerned at the time with the inability of future historians to produce an original autograph document. But this, too, is important, for Stoddert obviously saw both copies, which means that they must have been hand-delivered by Phillips on 9 January. In fact, it is unlikely that they would have reached the capital from Norfolk, mailed either on 28 or 29 December. The only information on the incident previously to have reached Philadelphia was the report of the acting United States consul at Havana enclosing a letter authored by two gentlemen who had been aboard one of the captured merchantmen. Neither the report nor the letter contained any specific details relevant to the charges made by Stoddert. Thus Stoddert could have had no idea that Phillips deserved to be dismissed prior to his arrival with his report in hand. There was no duplicity involved in the interview on 9 January. The fact that he hand-delivered the report to Stoddert

26. Truxtun to Stoddert, 16 January 1799, *QW*, II:243; Stoddert to Caton, 24 January 1799, ibid., 276-77.

27. Stoddert presumably to Pickering at the State Department, 11 January 1799, DNA, RG 59, SDA, M 179-17, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State (MLDS), 1789-1825, 1 January 1799-27 December 1800, no. 5.

28. Phillips to Stoddert, 28 December 1798, ibid., between nos. 6 and 7.

also indicates that Phillips was being less than honest when he wrote in 1825 that he had not offered in his initial report the myriad of excuses later given for his conduct because he felt no apprehension for the future of his career. Why then did he go to Philadelphia? It was certainly not the usual procedure for captains to report to the secretary on arrival at ports distant from the capital. Surely, this was not the behavior of an officer with no second thoughts about his own conduct.[29]

It is probable that the secretary did not read the ten-page report in Phillips's presence. Only at a later reading did the captain's mistakes become evident, and persuade Stoddert to recommend dismissal to Adams. Either later on 9 January or the next day Stoddert met with the president and Pickering to discuss the case. Adams then asked for the report, read it himself, and later returned it to Stoddert, 'observing, that what was advised must be done.' That Adams was upset by the report is clear, for he mentioned it to Robert Liston, British minister extraordinary to the United States. Liston reported his conversation with Adams to Lord Grenville in a dispatch of 16 January stating that the president attributed the incident to Loring's emigré motivations and Phillips's own incapacity. Such asides with foreign emissaries did little to aid the diplomacy being pursued by Rufus King in London. Adams's conversation with Liston itself, relayed to London, may have been the source of the rumors that led to King's encrypted request for a copy of Phillips's report. On the other hand, it may have been an intentional signal on Adams's part that he did not intend to press too hard on this case, for subsequent complaints regarding British impressment moved from the specific to the general. Perhaps, after reading Phillips's report, Adams concluded that the captain's behavior undercut any vigorous American protest. This would explain why Adams was willing to use his executive authority to dismiss Phillips rather than to allow a court-martial, which would only have brought his conduct before the press, to no purpose.[30]

As for the report, it is a narrative, as Stoddert claimed, that speaks for itself. With regard to the two major charges made by the secretary of the navy in his letters to the ex-captain (that he ordered the convoy halted and that he mustered the crew and turned the roll over to a British lieutenant, both denied in his 1825 defense), Phillips wrote in his report:

> [halting the convoy] . . . I at this time observing the Commodore [Loring in *Carnatic*] laying too, made the best of my way to speak him, which I did . . . he then *ordered* [author's emphasis] me from his cabin windows to hoist the signal for the Convoy to heave to, *which I immediately obeyed* [author's emphasis]. . . .[31]

The image of Loring yelling orders from his cabin, orders obeyed by a captain of an American warship, which assisted in the capture of three American vessels and their crews, could not have been anything but distasteful to men such as Adams, Pickering, and Stoddert. After seeing the ships seized and going to *Carnatic* to speak with Loring, Phillips returned to *Baltimore:*

> . . . where I found my officers, who are not worthy the name considered as Cyphers, and had no command of the Ship in my absence . . . a Mr Smith, the fifth lieutenant of the *Carnatic* came on board with a verbal message from Captain Loring [who was obviously unwilling to put such a demand in writing], to take all men who had not protections, and stood in the gangway ordering the maneuvres of the ship . . . *Mr. Wright the second Lieutenant of the Carnatic at this time requested I would have all hands called, and give him a list of their names, which I accordingly did* [author's emphasis]. . . .

With Phillips's report in hand, Stoddert's decision to dismiss *Baltimore*'s captain appears unchallengeable. He did signal the convoy to halt at Loring's command, and obeyed the order of a British lieutenant mustering the crew and turning over the roll, as Stoddert charged. The report, which includes notes that passed between Phillips and Loring, reveals little in a way of protest on the American's part in the face of the British action. The three notes he sent to Loring deal with a request that the keys to his wine closet be returned to him, having been in possession of his steward, one of the impressed men. He wrote, ' . . . as I am now going to dinner, I should be glad to drink a glass of wine if you please.' In his next note Phillips asked Loring if he intended to ' . . . make a demand of the wages due the [impressed] men . . . as the Government of the United States makes no provision for any such

29. See Truxtun to Stoddert, 27 December 1798, *QW*, II:28; Truxtun to Phillips, 27 December 1798, ibid., 28-29; Stoddert to Caton, 24 January 1799, ibid., 276-77.

30. See Jackson, 'Impressment and Discord,' p. 137.

31. See Phillips's report to Stoddert, 28 December 1798, DNA, SDA, RG 59, M 179-17, MLDS, between nos. 6 and 7.

occurrence.' And then, learning that Loring was contemplating taking yet more men who he had learned were British, Phillips at last was moved to write that he did not know of any such men, 'neither can I as an officer of the United States give up my men voluntarily. . . .' Unfortunately, the next phrase read, 'but if you send an officer to take them I shall not oppose it.' Absent as well from his account is any mention of difficulty caused by the lost commission, or any striking of the flag, both of which figure prominently in his later accounts.

The historiography of the Havana incident, clouded 160 years ago by Goldsborough and Phillips, can now be set straight. Phillips deserved to be dismissed. His fault is clear. That he deserved sympathy for the unfortunate chain of events that led him to Havana, and for the extremely unusual and difficult circumstances he found himself in, was true enough. Perhaps he honestly did misconstrue his instructions and read more into Truxtun's 1 October letter than that captain surely intended. But it is obvious that he made serious errors of judgment, and the campaign of *ex post facto* explanations, misrepresentations, and finally outright lying when in 1825 he was led to believe that his report had been consumed by the fires set in the Washington Navy Yard at the approach of the British in 1814, denies him, in this author's mind at least, of any further claims for sympathetic historical treatment.[32]

32. Allen, *Naval War*, p. 81, and Cooper, *History*, I:161-63, follow Goldsborough, *Naval Chronicle*, p. 122, and suggest that a court-martial would have set things straight, judgment understandable working without a copy of Phillips's report. Thus Goldsborough's incorrect presumption that the report was lost, his unwillingness to refute Phillips's claims, and the latter's *Impartial Examination* served to confuse and distort historical judgments made over the following 160 years. Other claims made by Phillips over the years included: difficulties raised by Loring when the American captain first went aboard *Carnatic* over his lack of a commission (1799), and a statement in 1825 that he had actually struck his colors. Neither occurrence is mentioned in the report addressed to Stoddert.

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Cape Verdeans in the American Whaling and Sealing Industry, 1850-1900

By Briton Cooper Busch

THE brigantine *Hope* was one of the earliest American vessels to trade for furs on the Northwest Coast of America. Her cook, one Nicholas, hailed from St. Jagos (São Tiago) in the Cape Verde Islands, some 3,500 miles from her home port of Boston. On 17 July 1790, Nicholas deserted at British Columbia's Queen Charlotte Islands. 'This fellow,' wrote Capt. Joseph Ingraham, 'was one of the most restless beings I ever knew, for although I took him first on board to prevent his being starved and he had always been well treated, which he acknowledged, yet at every place we had stopped he was fain to leave us.' Ingraham had him brought back by the Indians, not because he was needed—*Hope* had recruited extra men at the Hawaiian Islands—but so that he might not disrupt subsequent trading relations, for example by interesting the Indians in the use of firearms.[1]

This small incident illustrates two points. The first, the particular role of Cape Verdeans aboard American vessels, will be explored shortly. The second, that North America's Cape Verdean connection is of long standing, is evident from the date of Nicholas's desertion. The relationship was no accident, since from the time they were discovered and populated in the mid-fifteenth century, the Cape Verde Islands served as an important crossroads. Originally a base for Portuguese expansion in West Africa, by the seventeenth century these islands were a major slave entrepôt (particularly en route to Brazil), as well as a source of salt, which could profitably be dug on several of the islands and sold in the West Indies, New England, or Newfoundland, perhaps returning to Portugal in the form of salt-encrusted codfish via a lengthy triangle trade.[2]

In the eighteenth century, when New England went a'whaling, it was already natural to swing with prevailing winds across the North Atlantic, down to the Azores (or 'Western Islands') and on to the Cape Verdes farther south, in search of whales, fresh supplies, and, once across the equator and through the doldrums, the southeast trades needed to push a vessel along to Patagonia and Cape Horn. Cook Nicholas demonstrates that an occasional islander served aboard American ships by the end of the century, but it was not until the nineteenth that Azoreans and Cape Verdeans came to fill an important function in the American whaling and sealing industries. It is the argument of this paper that the employment of both peoples contributed to the 'sweated' nature of these industries in the several decades after the American Civil War, but that Cape Verdeans, exploited and discriminated against for their foreign ways and their color (as will be seen, it is not really possible to distinguish between the two in this case), occupied a uniquely low position, with singular results for the Cape Verdean community in both the islands and the United States.

Three convergent interests led to increased American presence at the Cape Verdes between 1800 and the American Civil War. The first was the substantial growth of the whaling industry, which reached its peak in the 1840s. The second was the sudden expansion of the fur seal industry in the Falkland Islands (circa 1790-1810) and South Georgia (1800-1820), and the discovery and rapid exploitation of the South Shetlands (1821-1825). Sealers, whether British or American, found the Cape Verdes not only convenient

1. Joseph Ingraham, *Journal of the Brigantine Hope . . . 1790-1792* (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971), pp. 109-10.

2. T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in 17th Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), and Dierdre Anne Miental Machado, *Cape Verdean-Americans: Their Cultural and Historical Background* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1978), provide the best background. See also Ronald H. Chilcote, *Portuguese Africa* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967), and, for the most recent studies in Portuguese, Antonio Carreira, *Cabo Verde: Formação e Extincao de Uma Sociedade Escravocrata (1460-1878)* (Lisbon: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1972), and *Migrações nas Ilhas de Cabo Verde* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Ciências Humanas e Sociaia, 1977).

for supplies but essential for the salt without which the skins could not be preserved.[3]

The third element, less central to this paper but nonetheless important, was the official American concern with the suppression of the African slave trade. Between 1819 and the Civil War the United States Navy maintained a squadron on the West African coast both to suppress the slave trade and to lend support for the American-sponsored settlements in what became, in 1847, the Republic of Liberia. Yellow fever on the mainland coast meant death to non-Africans, and it was simple discretion to use the Cape Verdes as a 'home port,' even to the point of purchasing a plot of land to serve as a Protestant cemetery.[4] At the same time, American interests were great enough to warrant the appointment of an American consul for the Islands (usually at Porto Praia on São Tiago; the first such individual, Samuel Hodges, consul 1818-1827, was a merchant mainly concerned with smuggling American goods to the mainland). By the 1830s, some sixty whaling and merchant vessels called at the islands every year.[5]

The islands actually had little to offer in trade, despite their geographical centrality. The sea-pan salt was so readily available on the least habitable islands (Sal, Maio, Boa Vista) that sealers or traders needed only to pay for local labor to dig, fill sacks, load vessels, and the like, and little or nothing for the salt itself. Fruit and vegetables, goatmeat fresh or salted, hides, and water: all commodities in demand, but hardly providing development capital, these were the normal items of barter at the impoverished islands.[6]

3. The brig *Rebecca* in 1797, for example, stopped at Maio for salt; the schooner *Chile* in 1825 obtained salt and a man at Boa Vista. Logbooks referred to in this paper are as follows: brig *Rebecca*, 1797-1799 (G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic, Conn., microfilmed logs reel 1); schooner *Chile*, 1825 (Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, log 869); schooner *Mary Jane*, 1833 (journal, White Library, Mystic); schooner *Charles Colgate*, 1867-1876 (White Library microfilm reels 4, 9, and 10); schooner *Pacific*, 1858 (White Library, Mystic, reel 10); bark *Alert*, 1861 (ibid., reel 9); schooner *Ellen A. Swift*, 1902 (Yale University whaling logs); schooner *Era*, 1900 (White Library, Mystic, col. 102, vol. 2).

4. Samuel Eliot Morison, 'The United States Africa Squadron at the Cape Verde Islands,' in Raymond S. Sayres, ed., *Portugal and Brazil in Transition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), pp. 145-48.

5. Reports of American Consul in Cape Verde Islands, National Archives of the United States, microcopy T-434, reel 1.

6. Raymond Anthony Almeida, *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story* (Boston: American Committee for Cape Verde, 1978); see also by the same author with Patricia Nyhan, *Cape Verde and Its People: A Short History* (Boston: American Committee for Cape Verde, 1976). Hides are discussed in William J. Jennings, Jr., *Messrs. Cobb and Butman, Captain Anthony Smalley, and the Goat Skin Trade with the Cape Verde Islands and the African Coast, 1870-75* (Munson Institute Paper, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic, Conn., 1973).

And impoverished they were. Lying in an arid belt at 15-17° N. Lat. some 320 miles west of Cape Vert in Senegal (the westernmost point of Africa), the islands always had scanty and unpredictable rainfall, and in a bad year the population suffered famine and death. In the nineteenth century, some 12,000 to 30,000 people died in 1831-1833 (depending on whose estimate is used), and another 30,000 or more in the famine of 1863-1865, something like 10 to 20 percent of the population in each instance. Overpopulation, lack of year-round running water (available on only four of the islands, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Tiago, and Brava), and Saharan winds meant a permanently precarious existence. As one commentator has put it, '. . . the common people live out their short existence, caught in the dreadful balance of water and drought, of food and scarcity.'[7]

Poverty was the overriding impression of American visitors in the early nineteenth century, but it was in the salt islands that conditions were at their worst. 'The natives,' wrote the author of a journal aboard the schooner *Mary Jane* bound for Patagonia in 1833,

> are of a dark swarthy colour rather diminutive in stature, and are extremely indolent, always having their manual labour, done by their slaves. Drought in this country are [*sic*] very common consequently famine frequently prevails. . . . On the islands of Sal, & Bonavista [*sic*] there are several salt pits. Here the poor slaves are pining for freedom, and seize every opportunity of escape, on board of the shipping which are continually arriving at these islands. To guard against this loss of property the strictist precautions are adopted by the planters; who do not allow the inhabitants the use [of] boats of any discription; which arrangement gives to the Islands the appearance of a desolated spot in the Ocean.

The population is a mulatto or creole mixture of white Portuguese and black Africans from the Guiné coast, originally slaves, developing over time not only a racial mix but a unique Portuguese language, Crioulo (also called Caboverdeano). The black element predominates, particularly among the landless lower class which was the most eager to leave; Cape Verdean seamen were and are generally regarded by nineteenth- and twentieth-century America as blacks, a fact which is of central importance to this study. The more socially prominent *gente branco*, 'white people,'

7. Almeida, *Cape Verdeans in America*, p. 14, gives 30,000; Duncan, *Atlantic Islands*, p. 197 (quoted), gives the smaller figure.

of the larger towns took little part in the whaling trade, considering such employment beneath them.[8] As Dierdre Miental Machado has shown from her field-work in the islands, Cape Verdean society is organized in a complicated way in which, although without legal enforcement, color, wealth, slave ancestry, and attitude mingle to determine status. 'White' is, in this context, as much a term of status as of color, and does not necessarily mean white by European or American standards; whites are not necessarily rich, nor blacks poor, but the terms 'black' and 'negro' in Crioulo are odious racial slurs (if necessary, the term 'person of color' is used)—important considerations when Cape Verdeans faced American conditions.[9]

Atop the social and political pyramid were the Portuguese administrators, sent to make their fortune or serve out a temporary exile (the *degredados,* true criminal or political exiles, were another matter). Yet the 'white people' among the Cape Verdeans in turn provided many of the lower-echelon imperial servants who ruled on the Guiné coast, leaving mainland Africans and their lower-class descendants on the islands a poor third. This tripartite division was not unique in world history, but it is to be distinguished from that of the Azores, where the admixture of African slave people had been less significant. The Azorean island of Fayal, in particular, from whence came many early whaling recruits, was settled in part by Flemings ('flamengos') in the seventeenth century, a fact which gave something of an aristocratic attitude to the island's inhabitants: whaling records giving place of birth or residence, for example, often distinguish between a resident of Fayal and one from the 'Western Islands' in general.[10]

Azoreans were the first to enter the whaleships among the Atlantic islanders. American trade contacts were more elaborate, not least because the islands are convenient to American-Mediterranean routes. If famine conditions were not as bad as on the Cape Verdes, the burden of military service far from home in the Portuguese army was just as unappealing to Azoreans as it was to Cape Verdeans (some victims preferred self-mutilation). It was this circumstance, wrote William Eldridge on the schooner *Emeline* in 1843, 'that accounts for the great number of Portuguese now afloat in Whaling ships. . . .'[11]

The 'great number' cannot be certain, although it was less than it was to become as a percentage of total employment in the trade. In the 1840s, the whaling industry used Azoreans, and Kanakas from the Hawaiian Islands, and newly emigrated Europeans, but it still appealed to rural American lads searching for adventure and profit. There were yet whales enough for a full cargo (although the profits did not exactly reach the crew), petroleum remained undiscovered, and the Civil War had not yet taken its mortal toll of American whaleships. Carl Haywood in his study of American whalers off the African coast estimated that by the time of the war 300 to 600 Azoreans served on American whalers each year. If one takes a careful estimate made for 1858 of some 16,000 seamen in the industry for that year, Haywood's figure would yield at best 3 percent of the total.[12]

Officially, a mere 180 immigrants from Portugal and her Atlantic islands were admitted to the United States in the entire thirty-year period 1820-1850. The 1850s brought 1,055, mainly from Fayal, many probably making for the California goldfields.[13] But such official figures mean little. Although whalemen were required by Act of Congress in 1840 to append official consular notarization of any foreign seamen hired to their obligatory 'Crew List' and 'Whaleman's Shipping Paper' (the document which described the share or wages of each crew member and the terms under which he served), this obligation seems to have been followed as much in the breach as in the observance, masters realizing full well that immigration officers would not be on hand to inspect returning whaleships. From the lists which do survive, however, it is possible to give at least the figures for beginning voyages (i.e., the status of the crew at its first departure from home port) together with such consular additions as the master bothered to have appended. The figures in Table 1 are from sealing vessels sailing from New London, Connecticut, a principal sealing port in the late nineteenth century. Whaling and sealing were

8. Almeida, *Cape Verdeans in America,* p. 50.

9. Machado, *Cape Verdean-Americans,* pp. 2-4, 134-35.

10. Donald R. Taft, *Two Portuguese Communities in New England* (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 241, 1923), p. 35.

11. Eldridge's account is quoted in Carl Norman Haywood, *American Whalers and Africa* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1967), p. 144.

12. Haywood, *American Whalers,* p. 31; Elmo Paul Hohman, *The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry* (N.Y.: Longmans, Green, 1928), p. 314.

13. Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., 'Portuguese Americans,' in F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, eds., *Our Racial and National Minorities* (N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1937), p. 395f.

closely connected, and the same vessel might hunt both whales and seals, even on the same voyage. The utility of sealers for this study, however, is the fact that they nearly always required manpower in the form of cheap greenhands for the less skilled tasks of sealing rather than more costly experienced seamen required to work the vessel. When hunting fur seals (as opposed to elephant seals, taken only for the oil to be made from their blubber), they needed salt as well—two good reasons to stop at the Cape Verdes.

Table 1[14]

RECRUITMENT IN SEALING VESSELS, NEW LONDON CUSTOMS DISTRICT, 1830-1890

	Number of voyages on which data available	*Total number of seamen of known lists*	*Number of Azoreans*	*%*	*Number of Cape Verdeans*	*%*	*Total % Azoreans and Cape Verdeans*
1830-39	25	448	9	.2	—	—	.2
1840-49	22	537	29	5.4	26	4.8	10.2
1850-59	32	830	64	7.7	61	7.3	15
1860-69	22	417	58	14.0	54	13	27
1870-79	51	892	130	14.5	105	12	26.5
1880-89	4	55	—	—	1	—	1.8
Totals	156	3179	290		247		16.9

Clearly, the number of Azoreans and Cape Verdeans in the sealing industry grew substantially from the 1840s onward, until the trade collapsed in the 1880s. The data would seem to show that there were more Azoreans in these vessels, but this was not the case; the figures, it should be repeated, show only the crew originally sailing from New London together with those consular additions that survive. Of the 156 voyages studied, under a third actually had such attachments though some simply added the names of additional crewmen to the original lists themselves in defiance of legal requirements. The evidence of logbooks, however, indicates that far more Cape Verdeans were subsequently added than sailed from New London, but not many Azoreans. Consular affidavits which might have shown this were avoided in part to save consular fees, and in part because it was not always convenient to put in to St. Helena, Capetown, Montevideo, Pernambuco or Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands.

The table, therefore, can only give an indication of trends. But it is clear that in the 1860s and 1870s, *at least* a quarter of New London sealers came from the Western Islands or the Cape Verdes. A study of whaling vessels from New Bedford in the same decades (Table 2) illustrates much the same point.

As a general rule, whalers proceeding to the Arctic—Hudson's Bay, for example—tended to carry fewer Atlantic islanders except for the obvious professional mates and boatsteerers (more likely to be Azoreans than Cape Verdeans); obviously such vessels would not stop at the islands on the way north. If headed south across the 'line,' however, whalers had the same attitude as sealers. 'We found,' wrote one journal author in 1857, 'in the course of the voyage that nearly every whaler sails from home three or four hands short intending to stop at these islands where famine is often the reigning monarch.'[15]

The reasons for the substantial increase in islanders in the trade in these decades lie in the circumstances both of the trade itself and of the islands. From the American standpoint, the growing scarcity of whales, decreasing profits to the industry, the trauma of the Civil War, the rush for western lands, all tended to dampen interest in the old New England profession of whaling at a time when petroleum was an increasingly available substitute for whale oil. Sealing, similarly, offered little profit, since in many areas of the world fur seals had been exterminated for commercial pur-

14. U.S. Customs Office Records, New London, Conn., Federal Archives and Records Center, G.S.A., Waltham, Mass., 32527-32535 (crew lists) and 32557 (whaleman's shipping papers); all are filed by year.

15. Journal of A. F. Peck, probably on the bark *Covington* of Warren, R.I., 1856; Providence Public Library, WH1873/1856j.

poses well before the middle of the century. (The main exception, the fur seals of the Pribilof Islands, remained under Russian control until 1867, and then were the focus of California, Washington, and British Columbia efforts, not those of New England.) If whaling was to continue, therefore, it was necessary to cut costs, and the easiest way to do this was by cutting wages—and here cheap labor from the Portuguese islands was irresistibly appealing.

In the islands themselves conditions in the 1860s were particularly harsh. Cape Verdean famines in the 1850s and 1860s left a reduced and weakened population prey to cholera and smallpox. In 1864 the American consul in Praia reported that a disastrous crop failure, caused in part by European seeds 'unadapted to the soil of this country,' had cost São Tiago half its population, or some 25,000.[17] Emigration, to West Africa, or even the West Indies, offered some outlet, but those Cape Verdeans who remained had oppressive rule as well as harsh physical conditions to contend with under the regime of what one American Consul called 'the Needy unscrupulous officials from Lisbon.'[18]

It is little wonder that Cape Verdeans eagerly accepted the opportunity to serve in American whaleships. Above all they came from Brava, westernmost of the Sotavento (Leeward) group, although Fogo and São Tiago also provided recruits. Bravans, often lighter-skinned than other Cape Verdeans, had a particular reputation for small boat expertise, and in some respects stood in relationship to the Cape Verdes as Fayal did to the Azores, that is, as something of an elite. The term 'Bravas' was commonly used in whaling for all Cape Verdeans, whatever their actual home island.

In fact, by no means all Bravas had seafaring experience, even on an inter-island level; most islanders were small farmers on their own small plots, or, more likely, someone else's land, and the price of a boat of any kind was out of reach. Recruits might know only enough of the sea to be able to swim out to the vessel (a talent, learned especially for the purpose of escape, which made them unusual among most deep-water sailors, who had little use or need for swimming). The schooner *Charles Colgate*'s sarcastic mate gives a sample in 1871: 'At 8 P M the Boat come off [Brava]

Table 2[16]

PORTUGUESE SEAMEN IN WHALERS FROM NEW BEDFORD, 1862-1882

1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*
Year	*Number of Vessels Surveyed*	*Total Number of Crewmen*	*Number of Azoreans*	*%*	*Number of Cape Verdeans*	*%*	*Number of Portuguese Seamen from New Bedford or no residence*	*%*	*Total Portuguese Seamen (Total of Columns 4, 6, & 8)*	*%*	*Number of Mates*
1862	22	567	1	.2	—	—	42	7.4	43	7.5	1
1864	26	663	45	6.8	11	1.7	53	8.0	109	16.4	4
1866	18	492	67	13.6	25	5.0	1	.2	93	18.9	4
1868	22	587	8	1.3	15	2.5	94	16.0	117	19.9	5
1870	26	703	37	5.3	12	1.7	140	19.9	189	26.9	7
1872	25	677	8	1.2	8	1.2	109	16.1	125	18.5	16
1874	24	622	10	1.6	18	2.9	159	25.5	187	30.0	18
1876	23	623	14	2.2	29	4.7	82	13.2	125	20.0	6
1878	24	665	4	.6	7	1.0	211	31.7	222	33.4	17
1880	25	673	17	2.5	23	3.4	200	29.7	240	35.7	17
1882	16	480	3	.6	26	5.4	119	24.8	148	30.8	11
Totals	251	6752	214	3.2	174	2.6	1210	17.9	1598	23.7	106

16. Based upon crew lists published in the *Whaleman's Shipping List and Transcript*, New Bedford (weekly). Haywood, *American Whalers*, p. 36, notes that he studied 2,800 logs of whalers, of which 2,700 stopped at the Azores, some 150 per annum at Fayal alone, of which some one-third actually are recorded in the consul's records.

17. H. Morse to State Department, 31 December 1864, microcopy T 434/4.

18. Ibid., 20 September 1863.

with the men 14 in all not a man among them that can Stear the Schooner or go aloft; good sailors to run the Indian Ocean with. . . .' The same vessel shipped another twelve men from the same place in 1875. The following day produced an incredible log entry: 'at 6 P.M. the Boat come off bringing the Capt kept off set all Sale course S. at daylite found sum men stoed [stowed] in Forecastle called all hands and found 25 men more than we had when we com to the Island.' Within a few days, one of the stowaways proved insane; within a few weeks, the mate was recording 'a Bad set of Negrows they are fighting & cuting one another all of the time,' not surprising, given the number of surplus hands aboard.

The number of Bravans who succeeded in escaping the island was substantial, although hardly thirteen stowaways on each vessel. The American Consul estimated in 1868 that of 12,000 inhabitants of the island, a third were in America and American vessels. His successor added in 1875 that 'no fewer than 600 to 1000 men' signed on whalers each year. As a result, the island became more Americanized by returning whalemen, adding this distinction to those of lightness of color and more widespread prevalence of free-hold farming (due initially to the fact that Brava, although one of the most fertile is also one of the most rugged of the islands).[19]

The phenomenon of return will be dealt with shortly, but the numbers involved simply cannot be estimated, any more than an accurate figure of recruits taken on board can be reached. Since most whalers simply lay 'off and on' under sail while their captain went ashore for supplies and recruits, thus avoiding port charges, very few vessels actually recorded seamen signed or discharged at Brava, preferring to sign their recruits at a later port of call, if at all. Similarly, Cape Verdeans did not necessarily wish to be seen joining a crew, since Portuguese authorities extracted a fee for passport clearance; in 1875, for example, it was four dollars—a large sum in any whaleman's eyes.[20]

It was also common practice for masters to leave sick, inept, or troublesome crewmen discharged 'on the beach'; American consular records have more to say about this practice, since such sailors often were forced to look to the consul for assistance—thirty or forty at a time in the 1870s. Sick seamen, too ill to care, were simply taken ashore; others were rendered insensible by drink (' . . . while on shore I was offered rum to drink, of which I drunk to freely . . . ,' complained one such destitute seaman).[21] Some Cape Verdeans deserted at Brava on purpose, having signed on in New London or elsewhere strictly as a means of obtaining a free passage home, as did the two Bravans signed on by the bark *Roman* in 1874.[22] But any seamen who proved undesirable for any reason could be treated with sufficient severity to think of desertion at the first opportunity, even at the rather uninviting Cape Verdes.

Once trained and proven through a voyage or two, however, Bravans became valued hands, and owners and masters took steps to prevent their desertion: 'do not let Jose de Pena Boatsteerer go on shore at Cape de Verdes, also look out for four other Portugues [*sic*]' wrote one owner in 1877 to Simeon Church, master of *Charles Colgate* (an afterthought, it is written across the envelope containing his letter of instructions).[23] Still, there was little problem normally in finding raw recruits as the vessel toured the island's coast. The result, wrote one complaining consul in 1868, was that 'The Master obtains men of the Island without difficulty and the vessel goes to sea, having exchanged a part of the Crew without depositing the Papers or having any communication with the Consular Agent or Custom House.' Portuguese authorities from time to time attempted to limit the ports of call, even while the vessels were still under sail (particularly before 1850, to prevent whalers carrying off escaped slaves), but to little avail.[24]

Although the number of exchanges cannot be calculated, the net inflow to the whaling/sealing trade was great. By the 1870s, for example, New London sealers sailed with only officers and hands enough—many of them Atlantic islanders or second-generation descendants resident in New Bedford—to sail the vessel to the Cape Verdes, at which point they signed on as

19. A. M. Post to State Department, 9 October 1875; and G. Tripp, Jr., to State Department, 12 May 1868, both microcopy 434/5.

20. Post to State Department, 9 October 1868, ibid.

21. John H. Davis to consul at Praia, 12 July 1883, ibid.

22. Bark *Roman* crew list, 22 June 1874. All crew lists and whaleman's shipping papers are documented in footnote 13 above.

23. Lawrence Bros. to Captain Church, 31 July 1877, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic, col. 25 (Lawrence papers), box 2/9. In contrast, W. L. Snell, master of the bark *Adeline Gibbs* of New Bedford, lay off and on São Nicolau both to recruit and to allow his fourth mate and boatsteerers to visit their homes; *Adeline Gibbs* logbook, 8-9 November 1875, Kendall Whaling Museum, logbook no. 6.

24. Tripp to State Department, 2 May 1868 (quoted), microcopy 434/5; F. Gardner, Praia, to G. Randall, New Bedford, 27 March 1845, as printed in *Whaleman's Shipping List and Transcript*, 29 April 1845.

many hands as necessary to make up a crew, often doubling their number. Whalers were eager to get to whaling as soon as possible, and thus would be more likely to sail with enough men to launch whaleboats when necessary, but they too stopped by for a few extra hands. Nor did Cape Verdeans have to be signed on in the islands; as the extent of their involvement spread, so did the number of unemployed men on the beach in Hawaii, for example. They turn up in some numbers signed on by whalers wintering in San Francisco and recruiting in the 'Sandwich Isles.'

Given the fact that a quarter of the whaling and sealing crews after the Civil War were Atlantic islanders, the question arises as to the conditions of service which made their employment popular with owners. It must be remembered that all whalemen in the last half of the nineteenth century served in a depressed industry: 'the fo'cas'le too was a hovel,' as one commentator has put it.[25] 'Lays,' the shares which whalers received in lieu of pay, declined in amount and value; seamen were signed for 1/100, 1/150, 1/175 and so on, and as whales disappeared, voyages stretched out over two, three, or even five years, meaning that to collect his every 175th barrel of oil, or its equivalent, the seaman had longer and longer to wait. Given the fact that the seaman paid interest on advances of wages, and exorbitant prices for clothing and tobacco drawn from the captain's 'slop chest' over the length of the voyage, he was lucky to finish his stint without being in debt to his vessel's owners.

Cape Verdeans, however, regularly stood at the bottom of the already depressed sailing hierarchy. They were particularly exploitable, of course, since they were eager to escape their islands, willing to work for very little, unused to the regular use of English, and on the whole younger by several years than most of the other crewmen. To put it differently, nearly all Atlantic islanders signed on were young, while only the greenhands among native-born Americans were similarly in their teens or early 20s. The bark *Alert*, for example, sailed from New London in 1860 with twenty-two crewmen, whose average age was 24.3; in the Western Islands she added another eighteen men whose average age was 20.7, and at that age level, in that century, those four years were a substantial differential.

25. Henry Bettle Hough, introduction to Capt. H. A. Chippendale, *Sails and Whales* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), p. xv.

Youth, hardship, and color left the Cape Verdeans in a most vulnerable position. This was obvious first in their lays; whether their title on signing was 'ordinary seaman,' 'seaman,' or the lowly 'greenhand' made little difference. Cape Verdeans were seldom rewarded for previous experience, however useful that knowledge might be. Sometimes there was opportunity for bargaining; the bark *Arab* signed six at Brava in 1865 for lays of 1/160, 1/200, 1/210, and three at 1/275. The latter were unusually small shares in the trade as a whole, but not unusual for Cape Verdeans. *Isaac Hicks* signed eight Cape Verdeans in 1856; seven were carried as 'ordinary seamen' and one as a 'boy,' but all received the same 1/250th. *Alert* in the same year added seamen at 1/225, 1/235, and several at 1/270.

Even when lays were more in line with prevailing wages from New London, Cape Verdeans were treated differently: *Silver Cloud* in 1858 signed eighteen men; of the ordinary seamen, fifteen non-Cape Verdeans got 1/135, but two Cape Verdeans each got 1/150. *Roman* in 1867 gave her greenhands signed on in the islands shares of 1/185 and 1/190; the lowest homeport lay in the same crew was also 1/190—to a boy of fifteen, the son of the vessel's master. The lowest lays of all were given to Cape Verdean seamen signed for elephant sealing at Desolation (Kerguelen) or Heard Islands in the Indian Ocean. Since owners in this trade normally used a small tender, usually a schooner, to collect blubber from beaches about the island for the main vessel, the owners would assume a 30 or 40 percent share of proceeds as recompense for providing the tender in the first place. Crew lays, but not necessarily lays of master or mates, were then given on the remainder. Thus *Alert* in 1851 gave a Cape Verdean 1/190 of 70 percent; *Franklin* in 1849 gave two Bravans 1/220 of 70 percent each, but two Cape Verdeans from other islands 1/300 of 70 percent. The latter would appear to be the lowest lay, though actual cash wages in lieu of a lay could be even lower. *Roman* in 1869 gave greenhands 1/175, but two Portuguese-named seamen were each given twenty-five cents a month. The same vessel did the same thing in 1873, at a time when the ship's cooper received 1/100 (an average lay for this more skilled position) and in addition twenty-five dollars a month.

Pay, therefore, was particularly low for these supplemental hands. But there could be and were other charges assessed before any profits were distributed at all. Interest on advances could be 14 percent (schooner

Roswell King, 1867) or 15 percent (schooner *Franklin Allyn*, 1884) per annum. If the owners wished to hire another tender, the costs could be shared out according to lays (schooner *Pacific*, 1858), or the crew could be assessed for freight charges on oil shipped home before the vessel's own return (schooner *Golden West*, 1868). A substantial sum could be charged for 'fitting the ship for sea,' seven to fifteen dollars per man in the ship *Samuel Robertson* of Fairhaven in 1856, added to another two dollars for the medicine chest, and five to ten dollars for 'discharging and clearing ship.' The slop bill, cash advance and charges could easily be eighty to one hundred dollars per man at the end of the voyage.[26]

The surviving crew accounts of *Samuel Robertson* for 1856-1858 (a Desolation sealing voyage) show the results. The voyage returned some $48,000, but the owners deducted all charges incurred during the voyage (pilotage, etc.) before distribution of lays. Needless to say, the owners were careful to overlook nothing: deductions left a net of some $34,000. Jose Silva's lay of 1/120 came to $281.83, but charges of $15 for fitting out, $2 medicine chest, and $90.92 for slop chest left him with $163.91 for two years' labor. Farin Gon Salvis [Gonsalves] realized $144.14 in cash from his lay of 1/150; Antone Rossu, shipped at Fayal, received $101.94 for his 1/200.

These wages of four to eight dollars a month were not below average for this 'sweated' industry, but then these particular lays came to more than was often paid Cape Verdeans. Had Antone Rossu shipped for the 1/275 or 1/300 paid to many, even the utmost frugality would have been unlikely to keep him from debt. Cape Verdeans were the lowest paid crewmen, quite simply; to that extent, their employment contributed to the tenuous survival of the whaling and sealing industries by cutting their costs. Elmo Hohman has argued that sweated labor contributed to the decline of the industry: 'Sweated labor, combining low efficiency with low wages, has never led to industrial dominance.' But even Hohman admits that the crews in whaling's heyday before the Civil War 'were not markedly superior.'[27] Industrial dominance is not the issue, but rather the survival of a marginal enterprise in the face of dwindling resources (whales and seals) and cheap alternatives (petroleum).

26. *Samuel Robertson* crew accounts 1856-1858, New Bedford Free Public Library, ms. 3788. All other figures are taken from whaleman's shipping papers.

27. Hohman, *The American Whaleman*, p. 301.

If Atlantic islanders were exploited financially, the same was true for the physical conditions of service, at least in sealing. In hunting down the last remnant of fur seals or, more commonly, elephant seals in the South Atlantic or Indian Ocean, the standard method was to leave small gangs of men for days, weeks, even over an entire winter on a small beach or headland with only a few barrels of salt meat and flour (with luck, this diet could be supplemented by such delicacies as penguin eggs, ducks, young albatross, and the like).[28] The function of such gangs was to kill all seals which hauled up on the beach, try out the blubber, if the gang were large enough, and await the arrival of the tender or mother ship in the spring. It was hard and dirty work, performed in constant bad weather, ice and snow, the risks of which ran from scurvy to unfriendly bull elephant seals weighing several thousand pounds that could be very dangerous indeed. Many men lost their lives above all in hauling blubber or oil out to a vessel through heavy surf. In general, only Portuguese seamen appeared regularly willing to face such conditions.

Nevertheless, owners sending sealers to Desolation Island often added a special clause to their Whaleman's Paper, as in that of the schooner *Golden West* in 1871:

> It is further agreed and understood on the part of the officers and crew of said Schr. Golden West that we each and severally bind ourselves to serve in the Boats and on shore in catching Seal Skins and Elephant Oil and to obey all orders of the officers [of] said schooner both on Shipboard, in Boats, and on the land, in accordance with the Custom of an Elephant and Sealing Voyage.

The object was to forestall the complaint of any 'sea lawyer,' opposed to service outside the vessel on which he had signed. Such clauses could further stipulate that should the vessel return to her home port, the crew agreed to stay out for another season or more: *Colgate* in 1875 called for a vague 'two seasons more,' while the schooner *R. B. Coleman* in 1857 stipulated three. Those crew lists which indicate exchanges—men who voluntarily stayed at Desolation when no such clause was included in the Shipping Paper—show clearly that many were Cape Verdeans, certainly a higher percentage than sailed with the vessel from her home port.

28. Briton Cooper Busch, 'Elephants and Whales: New London and Desolation, 1840-1900,' *American Neptune*, XL:2 (April 1980), 117-26.

Forty-four men were named in the *Samuel Robertson*'s original list (an unusually large number since it included the crew of her tender, the schooner *Oxford*). Twenty-seven stayed on Desolation when *Robertson* returned nearly two years later, half of them Portuguese. To complicate matters, however, thirty-seven men were discharged at Fairhaven, her home port, at the end of the voyage, and another eight were discharged to other ships. Three had deserted along the way, and five had been killed (a loss rate of some 5.7 percent a year—rather a grim indicator). The total of some eighty men simply shows the turnover of men on the voyage; such data make certainty on sealing statistics very difficult, but there is no doubt about the role in the trade of Cape Verdeans.

Robertson's losses were not unique. The logbooks tell the story: *Pacific* lost four men overboard to a heavy sea in 1858—and the log notes carefully that they were one white Portuguese, one colored Portuguese, one white American, and one colored Frenchman. *Alert* in 1861 found one of her men ashore on Heard Island frozen to death. *Colgate* arrived in 1876 to find two of her winter gang dead. For the most part, crews seem to have accepted their lot: for foreign-born seamen it was, in the end, still a way of reaching the United States.

In one interesting case, however, the owners of *Samuel Robertson* were sued by two Azoreans, shipped at Fayal by *Robertson*'s tender *Oxford* in 1857. The result was the only legal judgment known to the author which directly condemns conditions of employment on Desolation.[29] The case itself is complicated. Briefly, the men in signing on at Fayal thought they were doing so for the duration of *Oxford*'s voyage at lays of 1/200. The men were illiterate, at least in English, and claimed to be unaware of additional clauses in the Whaleman's Shipping Paper they signed: (a) the lays would be reckoned only at 70 percent of the proceeds of the voyage; (b) the men would remain on the island if the captain so requested, even beyond the normal end of *Robertson*'s voyage, with [illegible] the men's agreed lays would cover only the passage to their way which corresponded to the same as was customary in the case of the Cape Verdeans, were [illegible] six for the entire voyage of *Robertson* and [illegible] replacement at Desolation. The ship's agent, [illegible] would thus have been [illegible] of the [illegible]

29. *Mayhew v. Tarr*, [illegible]

astonishingly low figure which left them, by the judge's calculation, about five dollars a month, and in debt overall to the vessel for 'clothing and other necessaries.' To complicate matters, the master of *Robertson* obtained their discharge at Desolation, and resigned them on *Arab* at 1/145 lay.

Apparently the men felt the sum finally paid them (not stipulated in the court report) was inadequate. The judge, in agreeing with them, remarked on the brutality of the trade in which the master 'insisted, even with threats of violence, that they should remain' on the island and continue their 'severe and repulsive labor' in sealing 'with no comforts or provisions except what the little schooner, or their hut on shore, afforded.' 'It is not easily to be believed,' he concluded, 'that these young men . . . who had previously known only the fruitful soil and genial climate of the Azores, would have consented to see the ship depart and continue such services for the uncertain period of the return of another ship.' The whole agreement, in short, was entered into under duress; it is interesting that the complainants were Azorean, not Cape Verdean.

Pay and conditions can fairly be called unattractive. But what of prejudice, color or otherwise? It has become standard to regard the position of black seamen in nineteenth-century whalers as something exceptional for the era. As Cohn and Platzer have put it, '. . . there were no records of fights conducted on racial lines. There might be name calling. There was often the feeling that the captain preferred one racial or national group over another, but whaling was a truly integrated trade.'[30] To some degree this is a fair characterization, and certainly blacks served early on in whaling and sealing vessels.[31] Whites and blacks did serve together in every respect, and blacks certainly rose to be boatsteerers or harpooners, such as Melville's Daggoo in *Moby Dick*: 'a gigantic, coal-black negro-savage, with a lion-like tread. . . .'[32] (The terms vary for the same position: the harpooner put his harpoon into the whale, but then steered the whaleboat while the mate actually killed the animal: boatsteerers could have other responsibilities, such as supervision

30. Michael Cohn and Michael K. H. Platzer, *Black Men of the Sea* (New York: David, Mead, 1978), p. 85.

31. Blacks appear, for example, in the log of the brig *Rebecca*, 1797-1799, and the account of Bertha S. Dodge, ed., *Marooned: Narrative of the Sufferings and Adventures of Capt. Charles H. Barnard . . . 1812-1816* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1979). In James Fenimore Cooper's novel, *The Sea Lions*, which first appeared in the 1840s, a black plays a brief but prominent role.

32. Daggoo is described in chapter 27 of *Moby Dick* (any edition).

of watches aboard the vessel.) Less often, they could be mates, and very rarely (and usually with an all-black crew) masters, as more and more blacks entered maritime employment after the Civil War.[33]

The phrase, 'truly integrated,' however, goes too far if it is taken to mean at all levels of one industry. Integration in the fo'c'sle occurred because black seamen were needed, and there were no physical means of segregation in a small environment limited to the functional hierarchy of fo'c'sle, afterguard of boatsteerers, cooper, and blacksmith, mates, and finally, master. The economics of the trade dictated that cheap black labor, particularly the Cape Verdeans, had to be tolerated. But few blacks, native or foreign born, actually rose to officer status. Statistics are not available on black Americans, for no official papers actually give race (crew lists called for height and complexion, but the entry 'dark' is an unreliable guide). Portuguese names, however, appear on crew lists; while last names were often Anglicized, even if every Jose, Antone, Manuel, or Joao listed was Cape Verdean, still the percentage in the rank of mate or master is very small. Of the 251 vessels surveyed in Table 2, there were 1,004 officer berths, assuming 4 mates per vessel and excluding masters. Of these 1,004 mates, only 106, roughly 10 percent, can safely be assumed to be Atlantic islanders either by name or place of residence, compared to 24 percent of crewmen. Of these 106 mates, all but 21 are from New England (or no residence given); of the 21, all are from the Western Islands except 5 specifically from the Cape Verdes. Only 5 of the 106 are first mates, the rest being divided equally among the other three ranks.

And the chance of rising actually declined after 1880, as whaling itself declined. The coming of steam to all deep-sea maritime activity made segregation easier as blacks were relegated to engine-room gangs. In the U.S. Navy, where black Americans had commonly signed on as 'landsmen' (the lowest-paid category) in any case, once the needs of the Civil War had passed and the navy was cut back, blacks came more and more to provide a servile caste of cooks, waiters, and stokers. Black midshipmen were driven out of the Naval Academy in the 1870s; by 1900 the navy was approaching an all-white force, particularly when it was discovered that Asiatics, particularly Philippinos, provided even more tractable servants.[34]

The navy was notorious for this attitude, of course, but whalemen were very little different in their attitude towards the general question of racial equality at all levels. A small space filler printed in the weekly whaleman's bible, the New Bedford *Whaleman's Shipping List and Merchant Transcript*, for 2 February 1869, gives a sample:

> Negro Equality—A good illustration was given in a Louisiana parish by a negro, as follows: 'My friends, God a mity made de white man white. He made de black man black; nobody can't make 'em nuthin' else. You know de turkey he roost on de fence, and de goose he roost on de ground. You pull a turkey off de fence and he get up again. You crop his wings, but some how or nudder, he cum to get back on de fence. Now, you put de goose on de fence, and he fall—he don't belong dar. Now dat white man and nigger; white man roost on de fence, nigger on de ground.'

On the other hand, Cape Verdeans who worked hard and 'took their Yankee beatings as all good "furriners" should . . .,'[35] were understandably popular with owners and masters. Whites before the mast took a different view. Charles Nordhoff, a literate and experienced deep-sea sailor, summed up the mid-century position of island Portuguese quite well:

> They are a quiet, peaceful, inoffensive people, sober and industrious, penurious, almost to a fault, and I believe, invariably excellent whalemen. They are held in great esteem by ship owners and captains, but are often despised by their shipmates in the forecastle, who seeing them of such different habits to their own, choose to decry them as sneaks, and tale bearers.
>
> I found them to be quite the reverse; and with one or two exceptions, those with us were the only individuals of the crew with whom I could associate with any degree of pleasure. Brought up in the most abject poverty, it is natural that they should be saving—and refuse to waste their hard earned money for trifles or in dissipation, as is the fashion with sailors in general.[36]

33. Charles H. Wesley, *Negro Labor in the United States 1850-1925: A Study in American Economic History* (N.Y.: Vanguard Press, 1927).

34. Frederick S. Harrod, 'Jim Crow in the Navy (1798-1941)', *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, 105:9 (September 1979), 46-53.

35. Jeremiah Digges, *In Great Waters: The Story of the Portuguese Fishermen* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1941), p. xiv.

36. Charles Nordhoff, *In Yankee Windjammers* (N.Y.: Dodd, Mead, 1940), p. 209.

Nor did the Whaleman's Shipping List disagree. This from 13 December 1870:

> Portuguese—In taking a walk on Water street through the locality denominated 'Fayal,' and witnessing the various bazars and the apparent activity going on within them, one would not be surprised that the number claiming residence in this city is rising twelve hundred. They are generally a sober, industrious people, and are seldom found before our Courts. They have a distinct service every Sabbath, in their own language, under the charge of Father Ignatius . . . a zealous, spiritual adviser, [who] looks after his flock with great interest and care.

The black Portuguese kept to themselves, in New Bedford or on board, but there was no formal segregation—unless the vessel was wrecked. In such cases, it was not unusual for marooned blacks, American or foreign-born, to live apart, voluntarily or otherwise. Arthur Allen experienced this shipwrecked in the Arctic at the turn of the century; Joseph Fuller, who lost his schooner *Pilot's Bride* on Desolation in 1880, had the same experience.[37] Three of his 'Portuguese' (signed at Brava) seamen and one of his original crew (possibly black) lived completely apart from the rest of his mutinous crew, appearing only once a week or so for their share of the limited food supplies. In that case, 'damned white negro' was the worst epithet the whites could hurl against one another—it is repeated many times in Fuller's memoirs.

To differences of color must be added the foreign, somewhat exotic nature of the islanders. As a harpooner in *Charles W. Morgan* (1849-53) put it when his captain put ashore in the Cape Verdes: 'Just before dark the captain came on board bringing in the boat three or four strong-looking islanders, black and with wool so curled that they could hardly touch their heels to the deck, some of the boys said. The only way they were different from the regular African Negro was in language.'[38]

The memory of their meeting might be most colorful:

> A jobbing wagon would be driven upon the wharf in a whirl of the black dust, and would discharge its load of sailors, many of them natives of one of the Western Islands, or of Brava, some very black, as I recall them, with great hoops of thin gold in their ears; and their dunnage, some of it in seachests, but much done up in shapeless bundles in a gay colored cloth or in a sheet. They were fine, upstanding men, talking and laughing among themselves. . . .[39]

Aboard ship they kept to themselves when it was a question of free time. As the doctor on one English whaler recorded his experience:

> March 5, 1838. The Crew amusing themselves with various entertaining occupations, hunt the Slipper, hanging by cords, &c.—while the 4 Portuguese amused themselves (no one seeming to take any notice of them forward) with a more refined enjoyment viz playing on the guitar . . . this being more in union with my feelings, I amused myself for ½ an hour or so talking with them between while playing a tune & giving the Spanish fandango . . . they feel pleased by being taken notice of—and because they are darkies as the sailors call them—they do not associate with them. Such unkind feelings I never can cherish, and whatever the caste it pleases me to join in their conversation. . . .[40]

A century later, L. Harrison Matthews records a Norwegian's memories of South Georgia:

> When the old *Daisy* brig of New Bedford was here in 1912 most of her crew were Cape Verde niggers; they moored her in the Bay of Isles and sent away boat crews miles and miles . . . hunting elephants, and they'd load the boat almost down to the gunnels with blubber and tow a huge raft of it as well. We used to see them pulling back . . . and all the bloody niggers singing hallelujah at the top of their voices (skall). The old man used to work them like niggers too, signed them on at a dollar a month and a lay. But they never got it, not on your tintype mister they didn't, he'd given them such a rough passage they'd desert at the first chance, and he pocketed the boodle.[41]

Sweeping characterizations of this sort mingle hostility toward foreign elements in general—particularly those willing to work for less—with wonder at their ways and grudging envy of their hardihood. But such accounts treat the islanders as nameless faces, not individuals. Even Captain Fuller, who by necessity had

37. Arthur James Allen, *A Whaler and Trader in the Arctic, 1895-1944* . . . (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Co., 1978), p. 62; Briton Cooper Busch, ed., *Master of Desolation: the Reminiscences of Joseph Fuller* (Mystic, Conn.: Mystic Seaport Museum Press, 1980).

38. Nelson Cole Haley, *Whale Hunt* (London: Robert Hale, 1950), p. 35.

39. William John Hopkins, *She Blows! And Sparm at That!* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), p. 35 (a fictionalized account).

40. Diary of Robert Smith Owen, ship *Warrena*, Kendall Whaling Museum (my thanks to Carol Tobol of the museum for this reference).

41. L. Harrison Matthews, *Wandering Albatross* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1951), p. 27; see also the same author's *Penguins, Whales, and Sealers: A Voyage of Discovery* (N.Y.: Universe Books, 1978), p. 154.

to know his shipwrecked crew well, commonly makes remarks such as 'John Smith and two Portuguese away egg-hunting. . . .' When *Colgate* exchanged a man with *Golden West* in 1867, it was 'Manuel the Portuguese' and that was all that needed to be known of him.

Yet there was little overt hostility, even when it was a question of promotion to boatsteerer (although mate could be another matter). Azoreans were earlier in the industry in large numbers and rose more quickly, in part because they found assimilation easier with other Portuguese immigrants from Madeira or Portugal itself, and, to a lesser extent, in the American white community as a whole.[42] Cape Verdeans, however, found it difficult in the first place to assimilate, since assimilation meant sharing the ascription of black Americans, and Cape Verdeans, from their early association with the slave trade, were aware of the restrictions and stigma placed upon that community. Yet white Portuguese were reluctant to allow black islanders to become part of their own community, perhaps fearing the attachment of that same stigma to themselves. These larger problems of acceptance faced on land appear to have had their reflection at sea. Although a study by Pat Amaral lists forty-three Azorean whaling masters (and a good many in merchantmen, not to mention owners), Raymond Almeida in his partisan work, *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story,* is able to list only nine Cape Verdean whaling masters.[43]

A Cape Verdean might desert because someone was chosen ahead of him as mate (as on *Ellen A. Swift* in 1902; the competitor's color is not recorded); by this time, however, whaling was dead for practical purposes. More likely was the reaction of a white mate on the schooner *Era* bound for whaling and trading to Hudson's Bay in 1900. The mate refused to serve with a black boatsteerer in his boat, and the master, George Comer, put about in Long Island Sound to return for another mate. Comer, an interesting man, chose to keep the boatsteerer (one of three Cape Verdeans) who was already known to him as a competent man, in preference to a mate who obviously was going to mean trouble, a story that says something about the attitudes of both shrewd masters and white Americans in general.

In stark contrast to the mate's view are accounts of captains dumping white crewmen so that they could take on Cape Verdeans, or Amaral's story of Joseph R. Gomes, a light-skinned Azorean from Flores, who in 1920 blacked his face with shoe polish in order to pass as a member of a whaler's crew (he later commanded oil tankers).[44] By the twentieth century, blacks, whether American or Cape Verdean or West Indian, dominated the fo'c'sle, but they had not dominated the captain's cabin. R. C. Murphy, a naturalist sailing to South Georgia in the sealer *Daisy* before World War I has left a typical account: in a crew of twenty-seven, all of the officers but only three of the men were white.[45]

By the turn of the century, the relationship of the Cape Verde Islands and the United States had altered. Whaling in the old way was dead. Those Cape Verdeans who were masters and officers commanded aged ships in a marginal industry, and only by the narrowest margins were they able to keep afloat. The whaling heritage, however, was important in one significant respect, for well before the end of the nineteenth century a small but steady stream of Cape Verdean manned and owned packet boats, many of them ex-whalers, passed to and from the islands. These packets, which survived to World War II, carried passengers and their goods home for retirement or off to the U.S.A. for a new start in the mills of Fall River or New Bedford or the cranberry bogs of Cape Cod, for a substantial flood of immigration came from the islands until immigration restrictions based upon color were imposed in the 1920s.

The packets, leaning upon the whaling-sealing connection, did more than carry freight, for they kept alive a vital but tenuous link between the home islands and the Cape Verdean community in the United States (some quarter-million in the 1970s, roughly equal to the total population of the islands themselves). Those ties have been vital in allowing a strategy of ethnic identification with the islands (independent since 1975) and with Africa as an alternative to the difficult options of identifying with the black American or the white Portuguese American communities, and in that

42. Remarks on assimilation are based upon Sidney M. Greenfield, 'In Search of Social Identity: Strategies of Ethnic Identity Management amongst Capeverdeans in Southeastern Massachusetts,' *Luzo-Brazilian Review*, 13:1 (Summer 1976), pp. 3-18: Machado, *Cape Verdean-Americans*.

43. Pat Amaral, *They Ploughed the Seas: Profiles of Azorean Master Mariners* (St. Petersburg, Fla.: Valkyrie Press, 1978); Almeida, *Cape Verdeans in America*.

44. Amaral, *They Ploughed the Seas*, p. 75; on dumped sailors, microcopy T 434/ reel 5.

45. Robert Cushman Murphy, *Logbook for Grace: Whaling Brig Daisy, 1912-1913* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1947).

way, whaling and sealing perhaps should take their place among factors for cohesiveness, along with Catholic faith, Crioulo language, skin color, and the hostility of competing groups.

For the Cape Verde Islands themselves, the U.S. clearly had provided an escape valve, one which, for all its hardships and discrimination, was more attractive than death by famine. Yet many islanders returned if and when it became possible, setting themselves up as '*mercanos* (Americans) who had 'made it good.' The dream of success was often unfulfilled, but the return was common. Cape Verdeans, as one student has explained, suffered more from *saudade*, loosely, 'homesickness,' than Azoreans, surely not surprising given their greater ethnic isolation.[46] Whether the resulting steady Americanization of the islands was worth the cost is a moot point; some long-term effects of the whaling connection, like the endemic hereditary syphilis brought in the wake of mariners enjoying their leave ashore, obviously were long-range costs.

There can be little question, however, that cheap Cape Verdean labor significantly helped the American whaling and sealing industries to live on in the late nineteenth century, or that the connection irrevocably altered the history of the Cape Verde Islands. For both reasons, it is a story worth preserving in the Cape Verdean heritage, even though, contrary to myth, the bulk of American Cape Verdeans had far more practical experience with textile machinery and cranberry rakes than with whaleboats and trypots.

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46. Digges, *In Great Waters*, p. xv.

The Education Department at the Peabody Museum of Salem

BY GAIL P. HERCHER

WHEN the Peabody Museum of Salem was founded in 1799 by the East India Marine Society, it consisted of a collection of objects brought back from distant ports by Salem sea captains and supercargoes. Later, as the museum collections expanded, separate departments were formed. Today, the museum is renowned for its collections maintained by its three curatorial departments—maritime history, ethnology, and natural history. Other departments in the museum include conservation, photography, library, publications, development, archaeology, security, public relations, the shop, and education.

The education department was created in 1972 under the direction of Sarah Fraser Robbins, now director emerita. Since most museum education departments in this country are products of the last two decades, this means that as a 'discipline' museum education is a new area. There is, therefore, continual discussion (and controversy) over what museum education is and what it should do.

This article will explain the role of the education department at the Peabody Museum of Salem, particularly as it pertains to maritime history, the subject of this journal.

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The education department is charged with the responsibility of interpreting exhibits in the museum to people of all ages. This is accomplished through many devices, including tours, lectures, workshops, trips, films, special programs and events, members' activities, and classes at the museum for school groups.

In 1983, six thousand students and six thousand adults toured the museum with museum docents, and eleven thousand students participated in education classes at the museum. Still another twelve hundred adults participated in adult education programs at the museum and two thousand participated in programs sponsored by the museum at off-site locations. This work was accomplished by an education department staff of six people aided by fifty-five volunteer docents (guides).

Education department activities are based on the premise that the museum should serve as an important and unique educational resource for its members and the community. Since, more specifically, the education department believes that people can learn through objects (which serve as concrete links to concepts), the department seeks to help people become 'museum literate'—to understand how to use museums to obtain information. This is much like learning how to use a library to access information in that particular systems need to be learned to 'use' the institution. The education department helps people not only to understand artifacts but also to understand the function of museums in general.

In creating exhibits, the Peabody Museum of Salem employs the ROM (Royal Ontario Museum) 'Production Team' model. In this model, after an exhibit theme is established (by the curator and director), the production team consisting of the curator, project manager, designer, public relations director, development director and education director, meets periodically to determine what an exhibit will say, what objects will be used, how the exhibit will be funded and what it will look like. Along the way, the curator produces a notebook for the production team members to use for their respective purposes. This notebook relates the basic concept and content of the exhibit. From this, the education department prepares notes for the docents and compiles a recommended bibliography. The most important reading materials are usually purchased for the docent library.

Throughout the exhibit planning stage, public relations and education department staff members plan programming and promotional strategies for the exhibit.

Long before the 'Steam and the Sea' exhibit opened in October of 1983, for example, a full roster of speakers, films, and events was arranged. In addition, because a segment of the exhibit was to deal with the topic of immigration via steamships, the education department designed a series of programs relating to

that topic, such as performances by various ethnic dance groups.

During the past three years the education department has interwoven exhibits into cultural resources programs, funded by the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities. These programs have provided funding for students from area school systems to participate in museum education programs several times during the school year. (As a consequence of Proposition 2½, many schools would be unable to utilize cultural institutions without this state support.)

In one such cultural resource program—the North Shore Maritime Heritage Project—the education department coordinated a program in which twenty-five hundred students from local schools were able to visit the Peabody Museum and the Essex Institute on several occasions for a planned series of programs on maritime history. 'Steam and the Sea' was the major focus of this program and as a result teachers were able to use the catalog for the exhibit written by the maritime history curator, Paul Johnston, as a text. A spin-off of the immigration section of the exhibit was the three-credit oral history course that was held for teachers at the museum taught by a local college professor, John Fox. In this course teachers learned the techniques of recording oral history so that they could then encourage their students to record local immigrant stories.

Over the years, the education department has developed a close relationship with local school systems and works cooperatively with local colleges and community groups. Members of the education staff frequently lecture outside the museum and participate in symposia and conferences—maritime topics being a particularly favorite subject of interest.

Although the museum has a public relations department, the education department distributes its brochure to area schools each fall and education staff members visit schools to describe our programs to teachers and parent groups. Our lecture/program flyer is mailed to most community groups in the county to remind program chairpeople that the museum can provide speakers for their functions. Staff members are also visible in the community working, in particular, with other cultural institutions and the city in promoting Salem.

Another important function of the education department is that one of its members serves as the coordinator of volunteers in the museum, of which there are over two hundred. Potential volunteers are interviewed and placed within the museum by this staff member; she also keeps abreast of new volunteer needs and monitors performance. Each year she coordinates a luncheon for all the volunteers. This is hosted by the museum staff in appreciation of the hours that these people have contributed to the museum—fifty thousand in 1983! Volunteers serve in all departments doing research, cataloging, cleaning, in education as docents, and in the shop as sales help. Another significant group of volunteers works with the development office on fundraising efforts.

The adult education program is a growing part of the education department. As the adult segment of our population increases, so too does the demand for educational opportunities for these people. Not always interested in credit or degree-grant programs, adults are often interested in knowledge for its own sake. An increasing number of Essex County adults are now looking to the Peabody Museum for interesting courses, films, and lectures.

All of the programs for adults reflect the three major collections at the museum. The natural history department has been recently represented by nature walks, seaweed cooking, and nature drawing. Ethnology fans have been able to participate in Chinese and Japanese cooking classes, origami workshops, and an American Indian lecture series. Maritime history buffs have been able to participate in celestial navigation and marine photography courses, harbor cruises, and a trip to maritime England. All of these events are coordinated by the education department and appear on the museum quarterly calendar.

The early East India Marine Society members wanted to share their early collection with the citizenry of Salem and invited them to see the objects on Sunday afternoons. The education department of the Peabody Museum continues this tradition and actively seeks to share the museum with a broad audience in as many ways as possible.

In the Midst of a Great Excitement: The Argosy of the Revenue Cutter *C. W. Lawrence*

By James P. Delgado

THE discovery of gold in California and the resultant mass migration to the western shore of the continent in 1848-1849 brought hundreds of vessels into the Pacific. Many ships carrying passengers and freight intended for the 'gold diggins' made their way to San Francisco, the gateway to the California mines. In addition to the many ships engaged in the rush for gold were scores of vessels from domestic or foreign ports that carried on an active and diverse trade with the rapidly developing new territory. Isolated from the rest of the nation by the vastness of the continent, and lacking industrial and agricultural development, California thrived on this trade. The bulk of trade was also a financial boon to the United States, which had acquired California in 1848 as a result of the Mexican War. The active maritime trade in the new Pacific territory meant a substantial collection of duties on imported goods and merchandise. Congress, eager to collect the revenue generated by California's gold rush trade and to establish and maintain American laws and regulations in the new territory, responded by appointing Col. James Collier collector of customs for California, granting him the power to establish collection districts, enforce customs laws, regulate foreign trade, and collect revenue. Collier arrived in San Francisco in early November of 1849 and eagerly entered into his new duties.[1]

To assist the new collector in enforcing the regulations governing customs and the collection of revenue, a vessel was detailed from the ranks of the United States Revenue Marine. The Revenue Marine, created in 1790 by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, performed duties other than the enforcement of revenue laws. Throughout its history the service engaged in aiding vessels in distress, life-saving and salvage, the suppression of the slave trade and piracy, the carrying of government diplomats and dispatches, assisting the navy in wartime, 'all with their many incidental adventures,' eventually merging with other government agencies in the twentieth century to become the United States Coast Guard.[2] In 1844 the Revenue Marine, which had previously been supervised by political appointees with little or no experience and with many accompanying abuses, was professionalized by the appointment of Capt. Alexander V. Fraser, an officer from the ranks, as commandant. Fraser had control of personnel, promotion, and discipline but not of the individual vessels or 'cutters' in the service which were subject to the supervision of the collectors of the ports at which they were stationed. As incidents of interference and abuse continued with this arrangement, friction between Fraser and powerful collectors arose. This friction in four years' time would result in Fraser's removal and reassignment.[3]

In 1848 seven new cutters were ordered for the Revenue Marine, which had suffered substantial losses of vessels in the recent Mexican War. One of these new vessels was *C. W. Lawrence*, built at Washington, D.C., by William Easby. Easby, a native of Yorkshire, England, had been raised in the United States, learning the practice of shipbuilding in the Washington Navy Yard where he ultimately rose to the position of master builder. Easby resigned in 1829 and within the next year had opened his own shipyard at Foggy Bottom (now the site of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and the Watergate Apart-

1. Grant Foreman, *The Adventures of James Collier: First Collector of the Port of San Francisco* (Chicago: Black Cat Press, 1937) and Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846-1850* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1982). Passim.

2. Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1935), pp. 210-11. Chapelle offers a fair summary of the history of the Revenue Marine. An excellent source is Stephen H. Evans, *The United States Coast Guard, 1790-1915* (Annapolis: The United States Naval Institute, 1949).

3. Howard V. L. Bloomfield, *The Compact History of the United States Coast Guard* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966).

Capt. William Easby and family, circa 1840. Easby built *Lawrence*.

Photograph from the collection of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.

ments).[4] Easby had built another revenue cutter, *Walter Forward*, in 1841. *Lawrence* was probably laid down in late 1847 or early 1848; the first mention of the ship appears in Revenue Marine correspondence in December of 1847 when Messrs. Kirby and Whittington, sailmakers in Baltimore, were ordered to make 'sails, Awning, Bags, Hammocks, Hammock cloths, Tarpaulins &c for the new revenue brig... have them ready for shipment to this City [Washington] on or before the first day of May next.'[5] By July of 1848 the impressive armament for the vessel was being readied. *Lawrence* was pierced for ten guns, carrying two 32-pounders, a long 18-pounder, and two 6-pounders in addition to carbines, percussion pistols, Colt revolvers, boarding pikes, and cutlasses.

The new cutter was launched on 20 August 1848. The vessel was quick to join 'the element for which she was destined.'

> Scarcely had some of her blocks been knocked away, when she began, at first imperceptibly, to slide down her slippery ways, and Capt. Fraser and his lady, to whom was assigned the honor of christening the vessel, could scarcely, with all his exertion, find time to leap upon her deck before she plunged into the bosom of the Potomac.... She was launched with all her masts and rigging on board, and with colors flying....[6]

The ship was christened *Cornelius W. Lawrence* after the collector of the port of New York. She was destined, however, for California. Fraser, relieved as commandant of the Revenue Marine, was to command her on the long ocean voyage to San Francisco, where *Lawrence* would be the first representative of the Revenue Marine in the new territory.

Constructed along the lines of the earlier 'Baltimore Clippers,' *Lawrence* was staunchly built of white and live oak, yellow pine, cedar, locust, and mahogany and was copper fastened and sheathed. Small, with a 96½-foot length, a 24-foot beam, at 144 tons *Lawrence* was built for speed with her two raking masts brig rigged. Between 20 August and 10 October 1848 *Lawrence* was fitted out with supplies as final touches to her rig were made and the ship was painted black. On 11 October the Revenue Marine took formal possession of the ship and her thirty-five-man crew came on board. Provisions were stowed as *Lawrence* was readied for the voyage. A visiting reporter from the Washington *Daily International Intelligencer* remarked upon the preparations, noting

> It was gratifying to witness the admirable order that prevailed over the vessel, and especially so to notice the cheerful hilarity of the sailors between decks, as they sat enjoying a comfortable and substantial meal of hot coffee, beef, and bread.[7]

On 1 November 1848 *Lawrence* weighed anchor for the Pacific. After a stop at Norfolk, Virginia for addi-

4. Wilhelmine Easby-Smith, *Personal Recollections of Early Washington and a Sketch of the Life of Captain William Easby* (Washington, D.C.: Association of the Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia, 1913). Passim.

5. National Archives Records Group 26, 'Records of the United States Coast Guard' - Records of the Revenue Service, 1790-1915. 'Financial Correspondence,' letter of 14 December 1847. Henceforth all National Archives correspondence, which includes 'Correspondence from Revenue Marine Officers to the Secretary of the Treasury,' 'Correspondence from Collectors of the Port to the Secretary of the Treasury,' and the muster rolls for *C. W. Lawrence* will be referenced as NARG 26, Correspondence, with the date of the cited correspondence.

6. Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, 21 August 1848.

7. Ibid., 30 October 1848. Specifications for the construction of Revenue Marine vessels published in the *Daily National Intelligencer* of 6 September 1848 are most probably indicative of the nature of *Lawrence*'s construction.

tional provisions, which included 1,825 pounds of black powder, *Lawrence* entered the Gulf Stream on 17 November.

Lawrence encountered fierce storms within a week of entering the Gulf Stream. Her departure late in the year would exact a heavy toll and almost a year would pass before she would reach San Francisco. The voyage was replete with storms and strong head-winds damaging the ship and bringing Captain Fraser's temper and sharp tongue into play. On 22 December a weary Fraser in a terse note to his officers noted the strain of the voyage:

> As a particular favor, it is requested that at least until the arrival of the vessel at Rio the duty shall be carried on quietly. Having scarcely felt any relief from the cares of the deck on this passage, it is absolutely necessary that I should obtain the rest which it appears predetermined to deprive me of.[8]

Land was sighted on 16 January 1849 and the following day *Lawrence* anchored at Rio de Janeiro. Long shore-side repairs delayed the voyage for almost two months and leaky seams were caulked and damaged spars and rigging were removed and repaired. When the work was finally completed on 7 March, *Lawrence* again hoisted anchor and set sail for Cape Horn.

Fierce gales met the ship at the stormy continent's end. For more than five weeks *Lawrence* struggled for westing, at times sighting the Horn before being blown back into Atlantic waters. Finally entering the Pacific, *Lawrence* sailed north for a needed provisioning at Valparaiso, Chile, arriving on 20 June 1849. The ship was overhauled, cleaned, painted, and provisioned for the next three weeks, sailing on 19 July for the Hawaiian Islands where Fraser was to deliver important government dispatches. Well out in the Pacific and off the coast of Peru, though, *Lawrence* first entered into her new duties. On 9 August the bark *LaGrange* of Salem, Massachusetts hailed *Lawrence*. *LaGrange*, 140 days out of Salem and bound for San Francisco with a cargo of argonauts, was 'in want of coal.'[9] After providing *LaGrange* with six bags of coal, Fraser chatted with *LaGrange*'s master about conditions in the California gold fields before she 'filled away and made all sail.'[10]

On 2 September the 'island of Owyhee' was sighted. The island of Oahu was reached on the third and at 4 P.M. *Lawrence* passed Diamond Head, anchoring three miles from Honolulu. The next morning the ship was 'towed by the natives' into the harbor, anchoring at 9:30 A.M. For the next three weeks the ship was again cleaned and overhauled for the last leg of the voyage to San Francisco while Fraser delivered the important dispatches. Several members of the crew deserted at Honolulu prior to sailing, compelling Fraser to ship seventeen islanders as crew members before *Lawrence* weighed anchor on 28 September. On the voyage from Honolulu to San Francisco, Fraser's relations with his officers, which were already strained by tensions engendered by the long voyage and his strong belief that the young officers were untested political appointees, reached a climax. On 20 October, as *Lawrence* neared the California coast, Fraser verbally chastised his officers, noting that they had neglected their duty to provide him with a report on the vessel's daily position despite the presence of 'two sextants, several quadrants . . . and a nautical almanac.'[11]

On the morning of Wednesday 31 October land was sighted and at 11:30 A.M. *Lawrence* 'passed the fort at the mouth of the harbor, and stood up the bay' to anchor off San Francisco. The long voyage had ended with *Lawrence* safely on station. The next day Fraser wrote to Secretary of the Treasury William Meredith to report his arrival, noting that he found 'the presence of the vessel very necessary for the enforcement of the revenue laws.'[12] The harbor was a confused mass of shipping. Collector of the Port James Collier wrote one day after *Lawrence*'s arrival that he was 'perfectly astounded at the amount of business in this office' as 697 vessels had arrived in San Francisco between 1 April and 10 November 1849.[13] Many ships lay abandoned in the harbor, their crews having run off to the gold mines. The problem of maintaining shipboard discipline was exacerbated by the lack of any substantial legal authority on shore. *Lawrence* was to be the

8. National Archives Record Group 26, 'Records of the United States Coast Guard' - Records of the Revenue Service, 1790-1915, 'Logbook, Revenue Cutter *C. W. Lawrence*, October 1848-November 1851,' entry for 22 December 1848. Henceforth all citations of Logbook entries will be given as Logbook with the date[s] of the entry.

9. Logbook, 9 August 1849 and Katherine Wood Richardson, 'The Gold Seekers: The Story of the *LaGrange* and the California Pioneers of New England.' *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume 115, Number 2 (April 1979), pp. 94-95.

10. Logbook, 9 August 1849.

11. Logbook, 20 October 1849.

12. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. A. Fraser to Secretary Meredith, 1 November 1849.

13. NARG 26, Correspondence, Collector J. Collier to Secretary Meredith, 13 November 1849.

San Francisco, 1851 — Lund Panorama.

only means of enforcing the rule of masters and mates. Unfortunately Fraser also had problems with desertion. On 5 November the first man deserted, to be followed by others on 8, 9, 17, and 22 November. On 27 November nine men left the ship and ten men left the next day. The high cost of living in the inflated gold-rush market with limited salaries also created problems with the demoralized officers. Fraser lamented to his superiors that 'the officers have intimated to me their intention of resign' and that he had 'neither the power to arrest or punish deserters.'[14]

The first lieutenant and two second lieutenants ultimately resigned, the last leaving the ship in March of 1850, leaving Fraser 'entirely unassisted in my duties.'[15] Collector Collier came to Fraser's aid. Reporting to Secretary of the Treasury Meredith, Collier noted

> You have no doubt long been aware of the difficulty of keeping a crew on board of any vessel and especially government vessels at this station. The Revenue Brig Lawrence has encountered this difficulty and most of the crew have deserted. To that portion of them who have remained faithful, I have, after consultation with, and indeed after solicitation of Cap't Fraser, promised to raise their wages to $35 per month. This is but small compensation compared with that in the Merchant Service. They now give $100 per month. . . .[16]

To assist Fraser in carrying out his duties with a diminished crew unable to man *Lawrence,* Collier chartered a small schooner, *Argus,* and purchased another,

14. Logbook, 28 November 1849.

15. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. A. Fraser to Secretary Meredith, 26 November 1849.

16. NARG 26, Correspondence, Collector J. Collier to Secretary Meredith, 13 December 1849.

Photograph courtesy National Maritime Museum, San Francisco.

Catherine, to operate as auxiliary 'cutters.' In the early months of 1850 both vessels were overhauled and refitted with some of *Lawrence*'s armament and rig while at anchor off Sausalito. Collier justified the action taken, pointing out that each vessel

> can be kept constantly under way, in this bay, with three or four hands and will be able to render the most efficient service. The Lawrence will be kept in readiness should her services be required, but to keep her under way, would of course require a full crew which cannot be obtained without the payment of higher wages. By the course adopted the Department will save much more than the cost of the schooner, in the course of the year.[17]

Lawrence would be kept 'in readiness' on San Francisco Bay for over a year. Following the fitting out of *Argus* and *Catherine, Lawrence* was moved to a new anchorage off San Francisco, alternating between Clark's Point (at Telegraph Hill) and Rincon Point to the midst of San Francisco's crowded 'forest of masts.' *Lawrence*'s remaining crew members performed a variety of duties, boarding ships for inspection, quelling mutinous behavior, assisting ships in trouble, recovering boats adrift in the bay and helping short-handed craft get under way.

Smuggling was a major problem, because many merchants did not wish to pay the duties on foreign goods imported into San Francisco. Compounding the situation, some citizens, including several influential local officials, felt that it was wrong to collect revenue for the United States prior to statehood for California. Accordingly, many measures were undertaken to avoid the payment of duties. Ships with foreign merchandise would bypass San Francisco and Monterey

17. Ibid.

where collectors were on duty, sail into small ports, such as Bodega Bay, and transfer their goods to smaller coasting vessels, which would then bring the goods to market. Crew quarters on steamers and in sailing vessels were packed with illicit goods; false bottoms on crates and merchandise shipped as passengers' luggage were also used. During the course of the year that *Lawrence* was anchored at San Francisco, many ships were boarded and searched, and occasionally evidence of smuggling or nonpayment of duties would be uncovered. *Lawrence* would then 'seize' the ship and confiscate the smuggled merchandise, which would then be sold at auction by the collector, with the proceeds going to the United States government. The first vessel 'seized' was the English ship *Valparaiso* on 8 December 1849. On 17 December, *Lawrence* interrupted the schooner *Laura Virgin*'s rendezvous with the barque *Eliza* of New York, which was transferring liquor to the smaller vessel to avoid the duty. Not every case involved smuggling, though, for on 27 December *Lawrence* intercepted a small boat headed for the barque *Boston*, only to find that lunch was being brought to *Boston*'s crew!

The 'difficulty of keeping a crew on board' ships anchored in the port during the gold rush compelled *Lawrence*'s officers to intervene for masters on numerous occasions. The first to need help was the commander of the ship *Magnolia* on 19 December 1849. Men from the ship *Daniel Grant* were taken from her and placed in irons on board *Lawrence* on 1 February 1850. As *Lawrence* grew crowded, other prisoners, such as those from the ship *R. Pulsford*, were ironed on board their own vessels. As others 'refused duty' they were also arrested and placed in irons on *Lawrence*. By March of 1850 twelve prisoners were in the brig. Unfortunately, security was embarrassingly lax, for on 25 March 'at 6 A.M. when all hands were called [we] found that all the prisoners had deserted.'[18]

Assistance was also rendered to other vessels, helping ships short of hands to get under way and picking up boats which were found adrift in the harbor. The latter was a frequent duty. During a two-week period in March of 1850, for example, three boats were retrieved. When the ship *Hadley Clark* went aground, sixteen men from *Lawrence* were sent on board to haul her out. Unfortunately, the tide was ebbing and the ship could not be gotten off Clark's Point. On 8 October, though, *Lawrence* was able to be more helpful:

> At 4 P.M. a sloop boat capsized near the vessel with five men on it—sent a [boat] to their assistance & succeeded in saving two men, the others having sunk before assistance could reach them.[19]

Lawrence was at anchor on 18 October 1850 when the steamer *Oregon* arrived from Panama with the news that California had become a state as of 9 September. That afternoon *Lawrence* sent '2 small brass guns with 31 blank cartridges [California was the 31st state] under the charge of an officer with 10 men to assist the civil authorities in the celebration. . . .'[20] Eleven days later a formal celebration was held, with a parade, fireworks and speeches. *Lawrence*'s officers and 'as many men as could be spared went ashore to participate.' Unfortunately the day was marred by tragedy. That afternoon, as the steamboat *Sagamore* prepared to leave Central Wharf, her boilers burst, ripping through the packed vessel and killing many of her passengers, some of whom were thrown into the water. *Lawrence* was anchored nearby, and the crew was returning from the celebration as *Sagamore* exploded. 'The boats were instantly manned and officers were dispatched to render assistance.' The survivors were plucked from the water and taken ashore to the hospital, and the boats returned three hours later 'having picked up a number of valuable papers and letters, which were delivered to the consignee of the vessel.'[21]

Lawrence also assisted in the transformation of one vessel from a floating ship ready for sea into a beached hulk. One peculiar feature of the San Francisco waterfront was the beaching and conversion of vessels into storeships, offices, hotels—even the town jail. At the time of *Lawrence*'s arrival, a handful of ships had already been converted, and at the end of February 1850 *Lawrence*'s crew helped strip and ready the ship *Thomas Bennett* for beaching.[22] *Thomas Bennett*, which hailed from Charleston, South Carolina, had arrived with a complement of argonauts on 8 November 1849. Losing her crew and unable to get to sea, *Thomas Bennett* 'was hauled on the flats near what is now the corner of Sacramento and Front Streets. . . . a pier was built to the ship, and she was covered and

18. Logbook, 25 March 1850.

19. Logbook, 8 October 1850.
20. Logbook, 18 October 1850.
21. Logbook, 29 October 1850.
22. Logbook, 24-28 February 1850.

built around with stores, the whole being known as the Thomas Bennett dock and warehouse.'[23] The ship was partially broken up in 1853. It is possible that portions of her remain beneath the streets of San Francisco, landfill having eventually covered her grave.

The crowded condition of the harbor brought additional problems to *Lawrence*. Termed a 'forest of masts,' the waterfront was a tangled mass of shipping. In 1850 it was noted that 'there are now in this harbor quite a number of vessels badly moored, with anchors and cables so foul that they endanger the whole fleet.'[24] Vessels were constantly breaking loose and hitting other ships. On 19 November 1850, in the midst of a strong gale, the barque *Providence* lost both anchors and drifted athwart the hawse of the ship *Tiara*. Both boats were sent from *Lawrence,* and after working all night the officers and men were able to moor the two ships alongside one another.[25] *Lawrence* did not fare so well during her stay. On five separate occasions she was struck by another vessel. On 21 January 1850 the ship *Thomas Hart* drifted across *Lawrence*'s chain. When the tide turned she came back and 'carried away our flying jib boom.' On 24 February the schooner *Alfred* ran afoul of *Lawrence,* carrying away the flying jib iron; on 4 April the barque *Goose* 'came in contact with us, thereby destroying carved work on L cathead.' The ship *George Pollock* went afoul of the jib boom on 3 August 1850; on 4 December the ship *Amulet* struck *Lawrence* and 'carried away the main gaff.'

A year of riding at anchor, a deserting crew, and having been rammed began to bother Fraser. In October of 1850 he complained to his superiors, noting 'two years have now elapsed since my departure from the Chesapeake Bay, during which time I have scarcely been out of view from the vessel which I command.'[26] Collector Collier sympathized with Fraser, noting

> ...the detention of the Lawrence in this harbor since you first arrived at my suggestion and was regarded by me not only advisable but indispensable—indispensable not only for the enforcement of the Revenue Laws of the United States but in preserving the peace and the maintenance of order in the bay—Few men, I hope, had more difficult or responsible duties to perform and no man could have more faithfully and promptly discharged those duties. When it is remembered that you have been in a harbor where from five to six hundred vessels were riding at anchor—in the midst of a great excitement—with crews insubordinate & lawless—without the aid of civil authorities or civil process & when day & night you have been called upon to render assistance & to aid Masters of vessels in suppressing mutiny & violence, surely it becomes me to bear willing testimony to the necessity of your presence & your promptness in the discharge of your onerous duties.[27]

A variation in the routine finally came for Fraser and *Lawrence* late in 1850. On 27 September 1850 the Revenue Marine bark *Polk* arrived in San Francisco. The ship was unstable and was to serve only on the bay. *Polk* was to augment *Lawrence* but not to interfere with her duties. With the arrival of *Polk,* Collector Collier felt that *Lawrence* could be spared to go to sea 'and proceed down the coast as far as San Diego, touching at the various intermediate ports...making such examinations of the harbours upon the coast as it might prove serviceable to the commerce of the Country.'[28] Throughout October and November *Lawrence* was refitted, repaired, and made ready for sea. On 15 December the two 32-pound guns were taken out, to be stored at Sausalito. *Lawrence* then was provisioned and, on 26 December 1850, finally left San Francisco, clearing the Farallones that evening.

Five days later, having beaten down the coast, *Lawrence* was in the midst of the Channel Island. San Miguel Island was passed on 31 December and San Nicolas was sighted on New Year's Day. On 2 January *Lawrence* hove to near Santa Catalina, and the next day Fraser entered the main harbor (now known as Avalon) in one of the ship's boats. Having sounded the harbor 'and finding it a safe one,' Fraser decided to enter in *Lawrence*. At 5 A.M. on 4 January *Lawrence* stood in for the harbor, anchoring at 8:30 in two fathoms of water. That afternoon, though, as the tide dropped, *Lawrence* touched bottom and the following day was moved to a deeper anchorage. As the crew cleaned the ship, Fraser made observations, continuing the sounding and triangulating the harbor's position. The survey was completed on 13 January. The next day was marked by a new discovery. The seemingly deserted island was inhabited! Patrick McGill,

23. *San Francisco Prices Current and Shipping List,* 9 February 1853.
24. San Francisco *Picayune,* 27 November 1850.
25. Logbook, 19 November 1850.
26. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. A. Fraser to Secretary Corwin, 31 October 1850.
27. NARG 26, Correspondence, Collector J. Collier to Capt. A. Fraser, 21 November 1850.
28. Ibid.

who had voyaged to California in 1847 as a soldier in Company A of the New York Volunteers to fight in the Mexican War, had made his way to the island 'looking for a place to locate himself.' McGill had landed the day before *Lawrence* arrived 'in a suffering condition and in want of the necessities of life.' Fraser ordered a tent made for McGill; sixty pounds of pork, one hundred pounds of bread, and one ration of food from each crew member was supplied, 'and to enable him to dig a well a shovel and deck bucket' were provided.[29] The next day *Lawrence* weighed anchor and sailed out of the harbor. McGill's fate is unknown.

On 19 January *Lawrence* entered the harbor of San Diego, anchoring off the 'New Town' at 3:30 P.M. The crew was employed at 'watering, wooding, and coaling' the ship for the next few days. On the twenty-fourth Fraser and his new first lieutenant, Charles Bennett, along with the ship's surgeon and seven men, went ashore to do some exploring, returning on 1 February. On 4 February the steamship *Panama* arrived from San Francisco, stopping while enroute to Panama to land Gen. Persifor Smith of the U.S. Army and his party. Fraser dispatched two boats to convey Smith and his 'suite' from *Panama* to shore, 'when the boats passed the vessel a salute of 13 guns were fired.'[30] While in San Diego trouble among the crew again occurred. On 9 February a boat was sent to shore to find Fraser and Surgeon Lee. Fraser was informed that one of the men 'had been badly wounded by a stinging bee.' Fraser requested that the surgeon go back on board with him to tend to the man. Lee refused and Fraser went alone. Finding the man 'in great pain,' he sent a boat ashore to ask Lee a second time. Lee again refused, and that evening Fraser landed, discharging Lee, 'as he rendered no obedience to me.'[31] The next day *Lawrence* shifted her anchorage to the 'plia' [La Playa, or 'The Beach' on Point Loma, opposite North Island]. The next day the loss of the surgeon was truly felt. Two of the crew, William Graham and William Lobb, got into a fight. Graham bit 'a piece off the nose' of Lobb, stabbed him in the face, and 'otherwise seriously injured him.'[32] Lobb recovered, Graham had half the hair on his head shaved off, was flogged and turned ashore on the fifteenth. That morning *Lawrence* weighed anchor and stood out for sea, passing Point Loma at 9 A.M.

29. Logbook, 14 and 16 January 1851.
30. Logbook, 4 February 1851.
31. Logbook, 9 February 1851.
32. Logbook, 11 February 1851.

Crossing the Pacific *Lawrence* once again sailed to the Hawaiian Islands, anchoring at Hilo on 7 March 1851. The crew was kept busy renewing the rigging and cleaning the ship. Fresh provisions and water were taken on board. On 17 March, 'at sunrise hoisted the Hawaiian flag at the fore and fired a salute of 21 guns. At 12 M[eridian] and at sundown also fired a salute of 21 guns in honor of the present king's birthday.' That evening the gunner was sent on shore with twelve rockets, six blue lights and false fires 'to assist the citizens in celebrating. . . .'[33] On 23 March *Lawrence* cleared Hilo and made sail for Honolulu, arriving there on the twenty-sixth. Yards, gaffs, two of the ship's boats, and the brass blocks of the tiller were sent ashore for repairs, adequate facilities not being available at Hilo. The ship was painted during the first week of April, and on 10 April *Lawrence* again weighed anchor and stood for sea, bound for San Francisco. Point Reyes came into sight on 4 May, and by that evening *Lawrence* was at anchor one mile south of Rincon Point at San Francisco. That day a great fire had devastated the town; more than two thousand structures had been destroyed. For much of the next month a party of *Lawrence* men was sent ashore each night to guard the vault at the custom house.

Once again *Lawrence* entered into the 'regular' duties attendant to the station. Vessels were boarded, recalcitrant seamen were punished, and assistance was rendered to vessels. A new collector was on hand to greet her, Collier having been relieved and Thomas Butler King taking the post. New orders also greeted the ship. Commencing on 10 June *Lawrence* was to send a boat with a commissioned officer in charge 'to row guard around the harbor during the night to prevent smuggling.'[34] In addition, the state authorities had notified Collector King of their intention of enforcing a new state law forbidding any passengers from New South Wales to land in San Francisco, because anti-Australian sentiment was running high at the time. *Lawrence* was therefore ordered to board any and all British vessels entering the harbor, 'detain all passengers' and wait for the collector. More significant was the news that Fraser's request for a leave of absence had been granted. On 7 June he was relieved of command by Capt. Douglass Ottinger, a Revenue Marine officer on leave who was privately employed

33. Logbook, 17 March 1851.
34. Logbook, 10 June 1851.

on the coast as commander of the Pacific Mail steamship *Isthmus*. *Isthmus* arrived from Panama on 6 June, and the next day Ottinger presented himself. Since he had just learned of his recall to duty, Ottinger was not ready to accept permanent command. First Lieutenant Bennett was left in temporary command until Ottinger's return in September. Fraser left the ship on 13 June, borrowing one of the brig's Colt repeaters, and sailed for the Hawaiian Islands. He would ultimately return to the eastern seaboard in 1852, be suspended from duty, and then be reinstated to a long career.

Under Bennett's command, *Lawrence* again readied for sea, sailing from San Francisco on 18 June for a cruise 'to the northward' to investigate ports and coasting vessels for evidence of smuggling. Returning to San Francisco late in August, *Lawrence* remained for a short time, sailing again on 15 September. Journeying to the south, *Lawrence* called at Monterey on 17 September. Departing on the twenty-fifth, *Lawrence* went as far south as San Luis Obispo; anchoring and 'having seen nothing to indicate smuggling' quickly left, turning north. Reaching Bodega Bay on 7 October, but unable to enter due to heavy seas, *Lawrence* returned to San Francisco, anchoring off Clark's Point on 8 October. On the tenth 'Capt. Douglass Ottinger came on board and assumed command.'[35] The next day *Lawrence* weighed anchor and stood across the bay for Benicia, arriving on the twelfth. There the ship was overhauled once again to prepare her for additional duty. On the fifteenth Ottinger reported to Collector King

> ...the Lawrence will be ready for sea by the 17th... we have nearly finished the repairs on the rigging and sails and will lay her on the beach this evening to clean the copper....[36]

The bottom was very foul, because the ship had not been careened since her launch in August of 1848. *Lawrence* returned to San Francisco on 20 October, where orders awaited Ottinger. *Lawrence* proceeded to Sausalito, where the 32-pound guns landed by Fraser were re-emplaced on 24 October. The next day *Lawrence* anchored off Alcatraz Island, where the crew engaged in gun drill and target practice. Additional cannon were emplaced on the twenty-seventh, when two 12-pound guns were brought over from *Polk*. This brought the number of guns on board *Lawrence* to six: the two 32-pound cannon, two 12-pound cannon, and the two 6-pound cannon. *Lawrence* was ready for action.

Action came quickly. On 29 October the clipper ship *Challenge* anchored at San Francisco after a 102-day passage from New York. Capt. Robert H. Waterman and his men had not seen eye to eye during the passage. Many men had been battered and some killed by Waterman and his 'bucko' mate. Driven to desperation, some of the crew had mutinied, attacking and stabbing the mate. The uprising was quelled but not forgotten. Upon anchoring, Waterman sent word to *Lawrence* that he needed help. 'By request of Captain Waterman sent a boat on board in charge of an Officer; secured seven men in Irons charged with mutiny and brought them on board.'[37] *Lawrence* left for a cruise on San Francisco Bay and did not return to her anchorage until the next day. On 31 October *Lawrence* once again became involved with *Challenge*. Public sentiment had arisen in favor of the clipper's crew and against her master and mate. Threats had driven both men into hiding, and the possibility of the mob's destroying the ship was very real. The consignees of the ship wrote Ottinger on the thirty-first:

> Owing to a mob having taken forcible possession of the ship 'Challenge' to our consignment and having threatened to injure her in any way in their power even to scuttling her & we having called upon the U.S. Marshall to protect the property of our constituents; we now ask that you will with the force at your disposal assist in protecting the ship and property on board of her.[38]

Ottinger, Lieutenant Richmond of *Polk*, and a force of men proceeded to *Challenge*, where they were joined by local officials, the U.S. Marshall, and members of the Committee of Vigilance (who were in support of the legal authorities and opposed to the destruction of the ship) to face a crowd numbering more than one thousand. The crowd dispersed without incident, but not before some damage had been done when the mob had ransacked the ship searching for Waterman. *Lawrence*'s men were stationed on board during the night. By the morning the threat had dissipated.

35. Logbook, 10 October 1851.
36. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. D. Ottinger to Collector T. King, 15 October 1851.
37. Logbook, 29 October 1851.
38. NARG 26, Correspondence, Alsop & Company to Capt. D. Ottinger, 31 October 1851.

Waterman and Mate James Douglass were ultimately brought to trial for murder. Ottinger was called as a witness in the case, which finally ended on 10 February 1852, when both men were found guilty of lesser charges of assault and fined. It was rather a quiet end to an emotion-charged, notorious case.

The *Challenge* affair was not the only excitement afforded *Lawrence*'s crew. Rumors had reached the collector that certain vessels were carrying munitions, weapons, and filibusters to Hawaii, where they would take forcible possession of the islands. Since this sort of thing was definitely against the laws of the United States, *Lawrence* was ordered to search the suspected ships. The ship *Gamecock* of New York was stopped by firing a shot across her bow on 29 October just after *Lawrence* had left *Challenge*. The ship was searched but nothing suspicious was found. Three other vessels, *Colonel Fremont*, *Keoka*, and *Joe* had already been stopped, boarded, and searched on the twenty-third, with nothing being found. The additional armament emplaced on *Lawrence* on the twenty-third and twenty-seventh had been in response to a possible fight with the suspected 'filibusters.'

> We keep a constant watch on the conditions and movements of all the vessels which you have named in your directions to me and have them under our eye several times during the night. Our boats are moving quietly around the shipping and I do not think that they can escape us; Our guns are kept loaded with 32-lb. shot and matches kept burning from dark until daylight.[39]

No further evidence was uncovered concerning the suspected plot. Ottinger noted on 30 October that he had heard the expedition had been broken up, 'but as this may be a Ruse I shall not lose sight . . . I am ready for getting away at any moment. . . .'[40]

In early November *Lawrence* continued her normal duties, searching vessels for evidence of smuggling, and in order to aid masters. On 9 November a mass desertion of the ship *Raymond* was thwarted, and on the next day Ottinger and his crew arrested three men from a boarding house who had threatened the captain and mate of the British ship *William Money* with 'violent personal abuse' while helping the crew desert. *Raymond* again hailed for assistance; her officers had also been attacked and the crew had deserted. Alarmed, Ottinger had the match fires lit and 'depressed the guns for a close shot in case of an attack from boats.'[41] He evidently feared that the men who had attacked the officers of *Raymond* might assault *Lawrence* to rescue their mates, who were ironed in the hold. The night passed without incident, and the next morning the three men were taken ashore and turned over to the civil authorities. On 15 November the clipper ship *Telegraph* and the ship *Flavius* were boarded and searched. They were the last vessels boarded by *Lawrence* in San Francisco Bay. Three days later *Lawrence* stood to sea, enroute to Monterey, where her mission was to pick up the collector of the port and bring him to San Francisco.

Lawrence arrived at Monterey on 20 November, sailing the next day with Collector William H. Russell on board. On the twenty-second she anchored at Santa Cruz, where the schooners *Empire* and *Sarah Hooper* were boarded and searched. *Sarah Hooper* was found to be lacking a clearance certificate and was also found to be loaded with a 'quantity of domestic and foreign goods. . . .' After reporting her to the collector at Santa Cruz, *Lawrence* again stood for sea. Sailing north for San Francisco, *Lawrence* encountered no difficulty, arriving off the Golden Gate on the evening of 25 November and anchoring near Point Lobos, the southern 'head' of the harbor entrance. Unfortunately for *Lawrence*, the tide had ebbed and was running with a strong set to the south. The sea was running from the west, almost directly toward the land. After one hour at anchor,

> Two topping seas have already boarded us, there was great danger of having the decks swept. Commenced heaving in chain, to change our position. At 8:30 P.M. parted the cable. We were then driven in a direction that Capt. Ottinger . . . judged to be towards the shoal water on the Bar, our intention being to get the vessel over the breakers and anchor inside, in deep water, where we could ride in safety; but being closer to the shore than we judged, the ship was in the breakers, near the beach, before we could distinguish between them and those that were foaming in every direction around us. . . . The vessel first struck in 3½ fathoms water, and in the next breaker came down with such tremendous force, that it appeared as if every seam and timber in her must have started. At the same time, tons of water fell on our decks. By changing the position of the sails, the ship's head was kept toward the beach and stern to the breakers.

39. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. D. Ottinger to Collector T. King, 27 October 1851.
40. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. D. Ottinger to Collector T. King, 30 October 1851.
41. Logbook, 10 November 1851.

We then let go the bower anchor, to lighten her forward, as she was coming broadside to. The vessel then laid bows toward the land, continuing to strike very heavily, and force her way through heavy combing seas toward the beach.[42]

The ship struck the beach at about 9:00 P.M. Discipline and order were maintained on board throughout the night despite 'a short time when none could feel that they would see another day.'[43] Ottinger had apparently misjudged his position due to poor visibility. He also misread the tide, later stating that he felt the tide was at flood. If so, *Lawrence* would have been carried through the Golden Gate with the incoming tide.

The next morning *Lawrence* was hove up onto the beach by means of a hawser carried ashore. The ship lay in 3½ feet of water at low tide that morning. High tide at 1:05 P.M. would bring her even higher up on shore.[44] The launch and a cutter were lowered, and valuable items were transported to the beach. Stripping the wreck commenced in earnest on the twenty-seventh with the assistance of troops and teams of horses from the Presidio of San Francisco. Wagons were loaded with papers, navigational instruments, small arms, ammunition, 'and other articles of ship's property' and sent to the military storehouse at the Presidio. Sails and rigging were being sent ashore at the same time:

We are now engaged in getting the Equipment and stores on shore, our Seamen performing their duty in the most prompt and cheerful manner, though their labor has been very severe.[45]

Cabin and wardroom furniture was removed on the twenty-eighth along with the medicine chest and sent to the Presidio. Meanwhile, news of the wreck had reached San Francisco. The 'painful intelligence' was published on the twenty-eighth for the first time. The pilot boat *Rialto* reported seeing a 'black clipper brig (supposed to be the Revenue Brig Lawrence)' the day before:

Yesterday (27th) they passed close in to shore and discovered the brig ashore and the crew stripping her of yards masts and rigging. They have a tent on shore close to the wreck, which lies about four miles southward of Point Lobos.[46]

The twenty-ninth was spent getting the last of the rigging 'chains, hawsers &c' ashore and to the Presidio. No mention is made of further salvage, but it is presumed that a great deal of valuable items would have been pulled off the wreck. She was easily accessible, so accessible, in fact, that Ottinger noted

It is my opinion that the 'Lawrence' could be got off again, but the expense attending it with the requisite repairs would doubtless amount to a much larger sum than will replace her with a more suitable vessel for Revenue duty on this coast. The sailing qualities of the 'Lawrence' were very ordinary, most of the Coasting Schooners, and some of the Merchant Ships, could pass us to windward, aside from the new class of Clipper Ships some of which beat us at the rate of four or five knots an hour.[47]

Since most of the equipment and all of the armament and ammunition of *Lawrence* were salvaged from the wreck, Ottinger and his men were ready to begin their duties once again, just as soon as a new vessel was obtained. Ottinger asked that *Argus* be detailed, but the collector of the port for Benicia refused to part with her. *Polk* was considered unseaworthy and hence not available for duty.[48] Another vessel, the schooner *Frolic*, was located and pronounced fit for service after Ottinger inspected her. Collector King purchased *Frolic* for $4,000 but eventually had to renegotiate when the Treasury Department disallowed the expense. *Frolic*, outfitted with *Lawrence*'s guns and equipment and manned by *Lawrence*'s crew, carried on *Lawrence*'s tradition as a chartered revenue cutter.

Collector King was quick to absolve Ottinger of any blame in the loss of *Lawrence*, writing to the secretary that 'the occurrence under the circumstances was unavoidable, and . . . every exertion was made to avert the disaster. . . . I am happy to communicate to the Department, the sailor-like coolness, intrepidity, promptitude, discipline, and exertions of Capt. Ot-

42. Logbook, 25 November 1851. The wreck was reported by the local newspapers, notable articles appearing in the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, and the *Herald* of 26, 27, and 28 November 1851.

43. NARG 26, Correspondence, Captain Ottinger to Collector King, 26 November 1851. The wreck is marked on a manuscript survey chart done in early 1852 by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey entitled 'A Map of Part of the Coast of California From Point Lobos Southward . . . 1852.'

44. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, 26 November 1851.

45. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. D. Ottinger to Collector T. King, 28 November 1851.

46. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, 28 November 1851.

47. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. D. Ottinger to Collector T. King, 28 November 1851.

48. NARG 26, Correspondence, Collector T. King to Collector Gallaer, 1 December 1851.

View south, Ocean Beach, San Francisco. On this section of San Francisco's western shore, *Lawrence* was driven ashore and lost in 1851. Efforts to locate the wreck are centered in this area.
National Park Service photograph by Richard Frear.

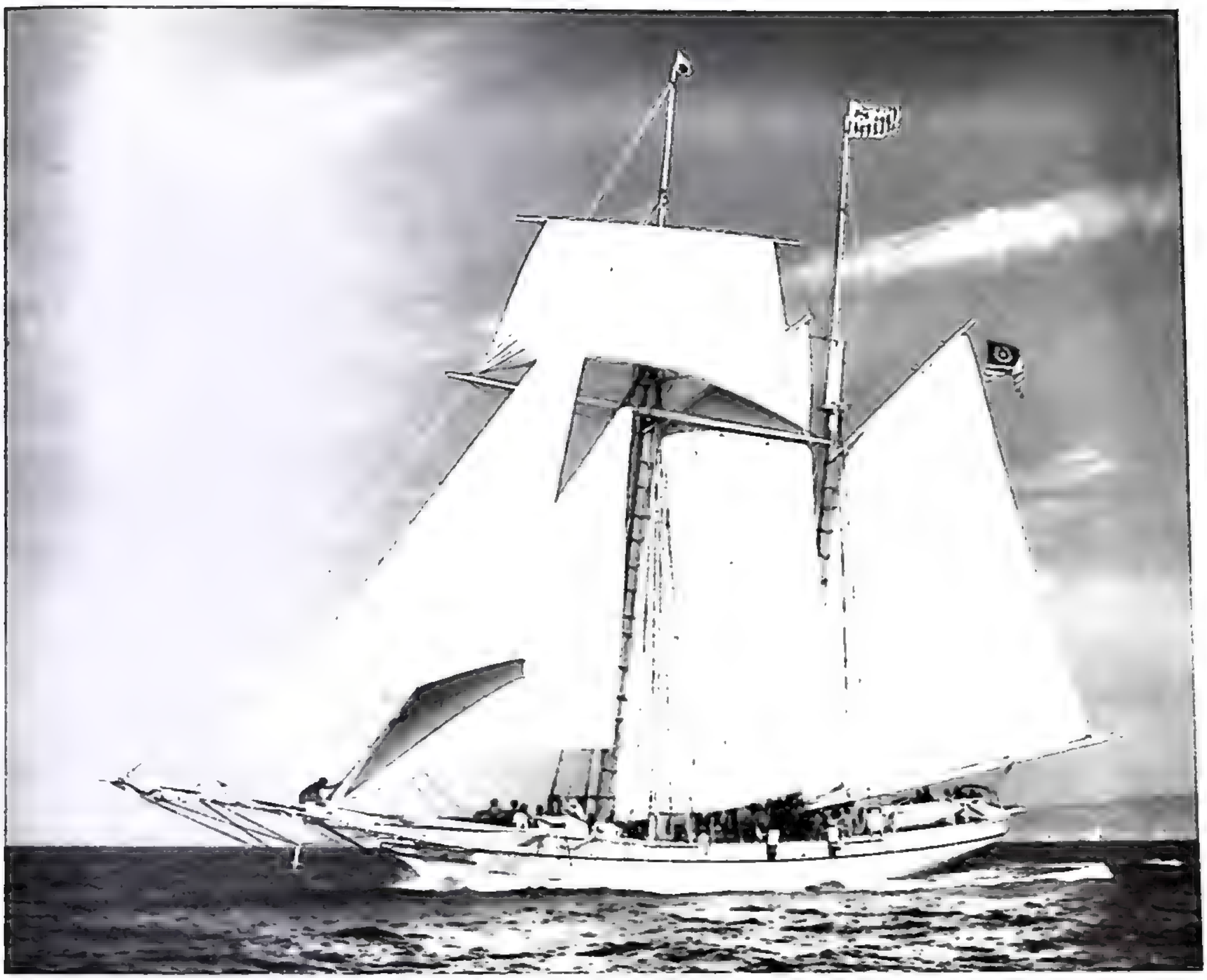
tinger, and his Officers and crew, in trying circumstances in which they were placed.'[49] The department accepted King's recommendation, and Ottinger was not held accountable for the loss of the ship. He continued to rise in the ranks of the Revenue Marine, returning to the eastern seaboard in 1853. In 1861 he brought all revenue cutters on the Great Lakes into the Atlantic on the eve of the Civil War. He commanded cutters on the coast during the war, at one point transporting President Lincoln and his entourage to Hampton Roads, Virginia. After the war he was involved in the design and construction of steam revenue cutters.[50] As for *Lawrence*, by order of the Treasury Department the wreck was sold at auction in early 1852. The hull and many damaged goods were sold, amounting to $2,360.50, which small sum indicates that little was left to purchase ($12,000 in goods and equipment had been saved for use on *Frolic)*. Another $46.00 was tendered for some miscellaneous items, making the total proceeds $2,406.50. Bills for the salvage and hauling of the guns and equipment from *Lawrence* totaled $1,127.40, leaving the government with a paltry $1,279.10 'profit' from the wreck of *Lawrence*.[51] The hull apparently remained on the beach into the early months of 1852, as the wreck is marked on a survey of the beach dated 1852. Except for a few little-noticed reminiscent accounts, *Lawrence* passed from memory as the sand and tides covered her shattered hulk.

Lawrence's heritage is being recalled in modern times by the Nautical Heritage Museum of Dana Point, California, and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The Nautical Heritage Museum has sponsored the *Californian* Project which has built and launched a replica of *Lawrence* christened *Californian*. Official tallship for the state of California, *Californian* now voyages up and down the coast as a youth sail-training

49. NARG 26, Correspondence, Collector T. King to Secretary Corwin, 3 December 1851.

50. *An Abridged Account of Services Rendered by Captain Douglass Ottinger, U.S. Revenue Marine* (1881), n.p.

51. NARG 26, Correspondence, Capt. D. Ottinger to Collector T. King, 21 January 1852.



Californian under sail, 1984. The rig has been changed from *Lawrence*'s brig-rig to a top-mast schooner-rig. *Lawrence* was painted black; *Californian* is gray, green, and white.

Gary Felton, photographer. Reproduced with the permission of the Nautical Heritage Museum of Dana Point, California.

vessel, teaching new generations about life at sea while reviving the tradition of her progenitor. Working with the Nautical Heritage Museum, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, a San Francisco-based unit of the National Park Service, has been searching for the shipwrecked remains of *Lawrence* as part of an ongoing maritime archaeological research program.[52] In the immediate future, then, it may be possible to see the spirit of *Lawrence* reborn if the vessel's remains are discovered and raised from her watery grave while a sailing reproduction navigates the same coastal waters.

52. James P. Delgado, Larry Murphy, Roger E. Kelly, Ph.D., *Shipwreck Survey of a Portion of Ocean Beach to Locate the Remains of the United States Revenue Cutter C. W. Lawrence* (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1984).

James P. Delgado has been a historian for the National Park Service for the past seven years. His duties also include maritime archaeological research and he has worked to document the remains of the 1848 steamer Tennessee, *the 1850 steamer* Winfield Scott, *the 1856 ship* King Philip, *and the 1882 two-masted schooner* Neptune, *along with the remains of many other shipwrecked vessels. He has published in* Sea History, California History, *the* Log of Mystic Seaport, The Huntington Library Quarterly, *and* The Pacific Historian *on various aspects of early and mid-nineteenth-century maritime and California history. He is currently on leave from the National Park Service and in graduate studies in maritime history and underwater research at East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina.*

ROBERT PUTMAN, *Early Sea Charts* (New York: Abbeville Press, Inc., 1983). 11¾″ x 15″, cloth, 144 pages, over 60 full color illustrations. $45.00.

This book recalls a 'good news, bad news' story. The good news is that the illustrations in this book are terrific; the bad news is that the accompanying text is lousy. The book is coffee-table size and reproduces a wide variety of printed and manuscript charts and maps drawn primarily from Dutch sources. Because of the generous format and good quality of the reproductions, the reader has an opportunity to study the details of many.

Most of the charts are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but a few are as late as the eighteenth century and as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest is the manuscript portolano of the Mediterranean by Angelino Dulcert (Majorca, 1339) from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Many of the 'sea charts' reproduced here never went to sea but were intended for offices of merchants and for libraries. Some of the illustrations reproduced are spectacular views, such as the watercolor view of the port of Acapulco by Johannes Vingboons (Amsterdam, circa 1650-1670), from the Vingboons Atlas in the General State Archives, The Hague. The entire world is covered by the charts reproduced in this volume, of which Maarten Gerritsz Vries's manuscript sea chart of the northern island of Japan and the area directly north of it, made in 1643 and taken from the archives of the Dutch East Indies Company, is an extraordinary example.

The author has selected maps and charts that provide a rich feast of views of cities, harbors, ships, native peoples, flora, fauna, and the like. In addition, several celestial maps, e.g., a copper engraving on paper of the northern hemisphere by Andreas Cellarius and Johannes Janssonius (Amsterdam, 1660), as well as colorful atlas frontispieces filled with allegorical figures, are included. Seventy-six color plates in all are reproduced, the bulk from Dutch sources, principally the Prince Hendrik Maritime Museum, Rotterdam (thirty in all), the General State Archives, The Hague (ten), the Library of the University of Amsterdam (six), the Library of the University of Leiden (six), and other scattered Dutch sources plus seven from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (seven), the British Library, London (five), and the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (two).

The author is Dutch but not professionally involved in the study of maps and charts at any of the Dutch universities. His text, or running commentary, provides a guide of sorts to the accompanying cartographic illustrations but lacks precision and depth and is undocumented. A guide to 'further reading' lists eleven books and two periodicals.

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN
Smithsonian Institution

FRANK MARTIN, *Rogues' River* (Hornchurch, Essex, England: Ian Henry Publications, 1983). 198 pages, 7 illustrations, bibliography, index. £6.25.

For more than a half-century the lower reaches of London's Thames River has been a favorite stomping ground of mine, from London Bridge to below Tilbury. While wandering around the ancient wharves I have poked into some of the delightful old pubs and ridden the excursion steamers between Westminster and Greenwich, and for a week shortly after the D-Day invasion of Normandy had sat in a dry dock in Blackwall while our LST was repaired, right on Buzz Bomb Alley Number One.

Down through the years I read much about the Thames, histories, personal experiences of the barges, stories of the life on the river. The latest addition to my book collection is *Rogues' River* by Frank Martin, a small volume about the ragamuffins and scallywags who inhabited the area in the seventeen and eighteen hundreds, the scoundrels whose livelihood was accomplished by deft fingers and fast feet. In a delightful manner Martin describes the seedy characters and their thieving ways. With quotes from Samuel Pepys, Ben Jonson, and Daniel Defoe, the author gets right into the spirit of the times. Watchmen, guards, and agents all appear to be each as bad as the other. Indeed, it is surprising that goods were not stolen 100 percent, and it is even curious that anyone would even try to make a living in the import-export trade of London.

The river was a vast, floating warehouse containing everything that Londoners needed. Martin states that Defoe counted in 1724 two thousand vessels in the Pool of London. The larger ships of the day, the big East Indiamen, would only get up as far as Deptford where they discharged their cargoes into barges and hoys which, in turn, came on up river. 'In these conditions there were so many opportunities for every kind

gunboat policy has been mercilessly exposed by numerous authors. What more remains to be gleaned from this particular stretch of overfished grounds?

Actually, there still is some work to be done. An enterprising author might have contributed new information on the design characteristics of American frigates and established a clear distinction between the products of Josiah Fox and Joshua Humphries. He might have devised a new system of measuring gunpower for the ships of that era. We have all struggled too long with the 'official' rating system that drastically undercounts the number of artillery pieces actually carried and with authors sometimes citing the official armament figures and the actual figures indiscriminately in the same work. We need a fuller discussion of scantling dimensions and American systems of reckoning tonnage measurements and overall hull size. This reviewer believes that when careful scholarship pertaining to these issues is published, we will discover that American warships of the Age of Fighting Sail were much larger and stronger than we now believe relative to their French and British opposite numbers. If such is the case, credit for the brilliant frigate victories should substantially shift from the Captains to the designers, and especially to Joshua Humphries.

Regarding the battles themselves, there is little point in retelling them unless new details and information about them can be presented. Familiar as they are, this is not an impossibility. Some official records and documents, such as court-martial transcripts, have been substantially neglected but therein can be found answers to vexing questions such as how *President* came to grief on Sandy Hook Bar while running the blockade in 1815 or how conspicuous Jesse Duncan Elliott's failure to support Commodore Perry during the Battle of Lake Erie really was to friend and foe alike. The greatest service a naval historian can render is to add to and advance the state of knowledge in the area that he has chosen to explore.

In this respect, Professor Fowler's latest volume is somewhat deficient. He has attempted a broad overview that mentions every significant battle and shift in naval policy but does not probe deeply into any of them. He provides some interesting draughts and even one sail plan but does not attempt any extended technical analysis or discussion of them. He includes a brief chapter devoted to shipboard life but the only really new information included is a brief listing of medications for treating the common illnesses of the sailors. This is truly a lost opportunity because a comprehensive social history of the Federal Navy, similar to the work that Michael Lewis has done for the British Navy, is long overdue and sorely needed.

Aside from the failure to break new ground, *Jack Tars and Commodores* is a reasonably well done piece of work. For the reader who is looking for an introductory overview or a quick review of the navy's early campaigns, it can be valuable indeed. Aside from a few, perhaps inevitable errors, the information cited is reliable and presented in an orderly and readable manner. The maps provided are somewhat anemic but well chosen to establish a geographical setting for the incidents described. Illustrations include a mixed bag of portraits, battle scenes, hull drawings, and contemporary materials arranged in no particular order. Footnotes are in good form and cite most of the standard reference works in the field. A lightly edited text of the Articles of War is included as an appendix although very little commentary is made upon them in the body of the book.

In summation, *Jack Tars and Commodores* provides a painless and amusing introduction to the subject of early American naval history but it does not have the depth to teach the old hands anything new nor is it detailed enough to become a standard reference in the field.

JAMES E. VALLE

Delaware State College

JANE CARTER WEBB, GEORGE RANDOLPH WEBB, *The Best on the Bay: Fifty Years of Racing* (Newport News, Virginia: The Christopher Newport College Sailing Association Press, 1984). 9″ x 12″, cloth, 200 pages, 16 color plates, profuse monochrome illustrations, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. $29.95.

'The Bay' is the celebrated 'Great Bay of Chesapeake' endorsed by Capt. John Smith. 'Racing' is with the now fifty-year-old Hampton One Design sailing yacht. The authors are a husband-and-wife team of physics professors at Christopher Newport College, Jane and George Webb, who are also yachting enthusiasts and nautical historians. Additionally, Mrs. Webb is a poet. This combination, indeed, makes for a cornucopia of sailing enjoyment in as sprightly a sleek, eighteen-foot centerboard sloop as has ever put

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to sea. Some seven hundred of them attest the popularity of the class.

The Webbs carefully reconstruct the picture of pleasure boating in and around Hampton Roads, from commercial log-built canoes to the founding of the Hampton Yacht Club in 1927 and its first regatta formally held the next year following the introduction of class boats as Stars, Snipes, Comets, and Moths during the 1920s and 1930s.

The actual designer of the Hampton One craft is a subject of conjecture since no records remain. Suffice to say, Newport News boatbuilder Vincent Serio and Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company's naval architect Sydney A. Vincent played the major roles in the construction in 1935 at Serio's Hampton Roads Boat Works of the first Hampton One. It was named *Jasyto* as an amalgamated contraction of the names of Vincent's three sons, Jack, Syd, Jr., and Tommy. After many owners and a long and profitable life, it now reposes, albeit with the twenty-one-foot mast considerably truncated, in one of the galleries at the Mariners' Museum.

The Webbs have adopted a novel technique in presenting the fifty-year-old record of the Hampton Ones; no mean task, incidentally, since so much has depended on hearsay, with few written records to verify it. The book, then, is composed of three merging sections distinguished by changes in type style. These are prose sections based on research and information provided by knowledgeable individuals; poems, appearing in italics, which capture the feelings of those from all over the country—for the Hampton One did not long remain as exclusive property of the Chesapeake—who have owned and loved their little yachts; and stories presented anonymously, though all storytellers are identified in the back of the book among the acknowledgments.

A splendid assortment of photographs, culled from the treasured albums of boat owners in addition to news photos made by newspaper photographers while covering local races, are among the book's greatest joys. More than a dozen are reproduced on color plates while monochrome reproductions grace practically every page.

All you wanted to know about the Hampton One but were *not* afraid to ask makes this a sprightly record of an extremely able and handy little sloop. Mrs. Webb's sensitive verse well captures the verve of owning and racing a Hampton One.

Originally a poor-man's boat costing less than $400, changes and modifications have contrived to raise the ante as innovations and modifications have come down through the years with the introduction of fiber-glass hulls, dacron sails, and nylon cordage. But the design of the boat itself has not been materially altered and the Hampton One is well on its way to round out a second half-century providing enjoyment and utility to its new legions of owners.

This unusual volume on what has been termed 'the most beautiful boat on the Bay' does ample justice to preserving this tradition in prose, poetry, and picture. Congratulations to all concerned.

ALEXANDER C. BROWN

GALE HUNTINGTON, editor, *Tom Tilton, Coaster and Fisherman* (Orono, Maine: Northeast Folklore Society, 1984). 9″ x 6″, paper, 68 pages, 18 black and white photographs, 2 maps, notes. $6.00.

Once a year the Northeast Folklore Society publishes a modest book, generally the product of tape-recorded interviews made as part of the society's director Dr. Edward D. Ives's ongoing oral history project. *Tom Tilton,* the twenty-third in the series, lets the one-time mate of the schooner *Alice S. Wentworth* reminisce about his long career as a fisherman and coaster, egged on and amplified by Huntington, who happens to be his son-in-law, and who has a fair amount of sea time himself. The result is an affectionate but clear-eyed look at life on Martha's Vineyard between the wars, fishing, lobstering, with detailed descriptions of some of the gear, and a thoroughly *un*-romantic description of the trials and tribulations involved in lumping coal and oyster shells (and occasionally oysters) around Nantucket and Long Island Sounds.

As Tilton recalls it, 'It was still main strength and stupidness. The reason was Zeb [his uncle] hated machinery—any kind of machines. And we still went just two-handed. But once in a while if it was an extra hard freight to load and unload, like bricks, we would go three-handed.' Tilton recalls loading cobblestones from Vineyard beaches for shipment to Nantucket and New York. He never did it himself, but as Huntington explains, 'The cobblestones were picked . . . , loaded into the dory and then unloaded onto the deck of the vessel. That was brutally hard work.'

On fishing: 'One time when I was dragging, I think it was in the *Artemesia,* a writer feller wanted to go with me. First along, going out, and [during] dragging, the weather was good and it was very smooth. And he said that he thought that fishermen got paid more for what they done than anyone he knew of. Then it come on more breezy and he was seasick for three days. On the way back he'd changed his mind about how easy fishing was.'

Perhaps one reason that the book reads so well is that there was a common background between interviewer and interviewee. As has been mentioned, Huntington is no stranger to fishing boats (including *Artemesia*) himself. Where there is a point which might confuse the nontechnical reader, such as the method of launching and hauling boats on the beach at Nomansland, it has been carefully and succinctly explained. There is a wealth of small detail without its being overwhelming.

This is a book which manages to describe a fragment of maritime history without being in the least sentimental about it. It is all too easy to lament the days of the sailing coasters or small fishing boats with an editorial tear in the eye, to claim that it all belonged to a 'simpler' age. The era Tilton talks about wasn't simple at all, just different, and in many aspects a lot harder. One wonders what Tilton's Uncle Zeb, who hated machines, would think of a modern wheel house.

NICHOLAS DEAN

North Edgecomb, Maine

MARY LOU SMITH, editor, *Woods Hole Reflections* (Woods Hole, Massachusetts: Woods Hole Historical Collection, 1983). 8⅞" x 11⅜", cloth and paper, 301 pages, 262 illustrations, bibliography. $22.95 cloth, $15.95 paper.

Many people have written their town's history, but few have been able to utilize written documents, oral histories, and photographic collections to produce a work that is so much more than a town history. The writers and editor of *Woods Hole Reflections* have achieved something that is rare in town histories: a vibrant and living account of life and development in a coastal New England town.

The village of Woods Hole, located in the southwest corner of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, is part of the town of Falmouth. There—whether in fishing, whaling, working in a guano factory, serving in the U.S. Coast Guard, doing research at the MBL, WHOI, the U.S. Fisheries or U.S. Geological Survey, working for the Steamship Authority, sailing spritsails or large yachts, summering as the family of either a researcher or a wealthy banker or living in the village as a year-round resident—life revolves around the sea which bounds the village on three sides. Many of the residents and their activities are tied to the numerous scientific institutions which flourish in the village. The diversity in occupations and institutions in Woods Hole has resulted in a village which, in many ways, is atypical of a New England coastal town.

As more and more Woods Hole memorabilia accumulated in the Woods Hole Library, the Woods Hole Historical Collection evolved. The WHHC is carrying out the directive in the library's charter to document Woods Hole's history. The growing collection of archival and photographic materials led to the conception of a town history with quite a different format. Specific topics were chosen or assigned interested persons in the community. Each topic fits into a general subject area of Woods Hole history. The seven chapters reflect dominant themes in the day-to-day life of the village: dropping anchor, widening ripples, tides of village life, lure of the seashore, lens to lasers, refractions and spectrum. Consequently, some themes follow a strict chronological sequence. Others jump around within the time spectrum but are closely related by subject matter. While some areas clearly have a more dominant thread running through them than others, the resulting variety clearly brings vitality to the work.

From the beginning the work was conceived of as a collection of essays written by amateurs which, when taken as a unit, would document Woods Hole's history. It quickly becomes obvious that a certain quality of writing was sought and that people researched and wrote about subjects in which they had been involved or had a deep interest. Research was clearly not restricted to the WHHC resources and interviews served as the basis for several articles.

Probably the most striking feature of *Woods Hole Reflections* is the participants' voluminous use of photographs throughout the volume. Some chapters are documented by photographs while others are simply photographic essays. The result of these essays and photographs is that Woods Hole's history comes

alive before the reader's eyes. The history is clear and well documented while still being anecdotal and personal. Being able to visualize the people, places, and events that have played such important roles in Woods Hole's life is the key to the success of this volume. As a longtime visitor and part-time resident of Woods Hole, I found real pleasure seeing Woods Hole's history unfold so clearly as I read this publication.

GREGOR TRINKAUS-RANDALL

Arlington, Massachusetts

KENNETH G. ROBERTS and PHILIP SHACKLETON, *The Canoe* (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1983). 10¼″ x 12″, cloth, viii + 279 pages, black and white and color illustrations, bibliography, index. $50.00.

It is difficult to imagine a type of watercraft of greater longevity or wider geographical distribution than the canoe. When prehistoric man first climbed aboard a drifting log, the development of the canoe began. While today's kevlar racing machines have shown a great advance in technology and efficiency if not in stability, there has probably never been an age or culture without its own version of this useful boat.

Subtitled 'A History of the Craft from Panama to the Arctic,' this volume begins with a chapter identifying the three basic types of canoe—the dugout, the skin boat, and the bark canoe—followed by a chapter on rafts and floats as related vessels. The section on the dugout includes ten chapters discussing regions from the Caribbean through Central America, along the East Coast of the United States, northward and westward to the Pacific. Skin boats did not have the geographical distribution of the dugouts, for the materials require a colder climate. They are treated in a two-chapter section covering the peoples of the Arctic and northern plains.

The image suggested to most people by the word *canoe* is neither the dugout nor the skin boat but the bark canoe and its modern descendants. The initial chapter in the section devoted to bark canoes describes the methods of construction employed by the Ojibwas of the upper Great Lakes region as a typical example. Subsequent chapters recount the reports of explorers, fur traders, soldiers, and missionaries into Indian territory with descriptions of Indian boats and their use. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were dominated by the French, with the British gaining supremacy after 1760. All of these visitors were dependent on canoes for transportation and soon learned to make and use them.

Early in the nineteenth century the canoe began to take on a new function as a recreational vehicle. Tourists and sportsmen made use of canoes for hunting and travelling, often on extended trips into the wilderness. Maine and the Adirondack Mountains became popular. Indians were employed as guides, providing their traditional bark canoes. As the supply of bark diminished, new methods of construction were developed. Since it was not practical for city dwellers on holiday to build their own canoes, manufacturers began to produce a variety of 'white man's canoes.'

The final chapter concerns the modern canoe. As soon as Europeans arrived in America, they began contributing their ideas to canoe design and construction. In the nineteenth century experiments were made with board-sheathed and cedar strip canoes. Canvas-covered canoes were made for the Hudson Bay Company, and a few metal boats were built. John MacGregor in his *Rob Roy* created an enthusiasm for canoe cruising. W. P. Stephens became a leading designer and builder in the United States. Canoe clubs were formed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century which sponsored organized canoeing events. Popularization of the canoe produced a demand for them which was met by such firms as Rushton, Chestnut, Old Town, and Ontario.

The Canoe is a book of many dimensions. It is an architectural history of a family of boats which shows how different cultures, climates, waterways, technologies, and available materials determined the development of particular types of craft suited to their several requirements. It also contains a good deal of ethnological material. Social and cultural factors played a significant part in the design, decoration, and use of boats which, like the automobile today, made a statement about their owners.

The illustrations are drawn from a wide variety of sources including plates from the accounts of early explorers, vintage photographs, and modern photographs of surviving practitioners of craft traditions. In the Caribbean as well as in the Arctic, new boats of ancient lineage are still in use and were photographed by the authors in the course of their research. A number of well-known artists including George Caleb

Bingham and Arthur F. Tait had occasion to depict the canoe. Some, such as Arthur Hemming, T. Mower Martin, Paul Kane, and Frances Ann Hopkins made a specialty of the subject. The extensive use of these materials as illustrations with the liberal use of color adds immeasurably to the usefulness and pleasure that the book affords.

Because the book is intended for a large audience, the text is not encumbered with footnotes. However, the bibliography is organized by chapter so that it is not too difficult to identify the source of historical information should anyone wish to pursue it.

In their introduction the authors describe the genesis of the idea for the book. They were camped on the shore of a lake north of the Great Lakes after a long day on the water. They mused on the parade of people who had preceded them on their route: Indian warriors, hunters, women, explorers, trappers, priests, and soldiers. From that lake one could travel to the Atlantic, the Pacific, Hudson Bay, or the Gulf of Mexico. The canoe was the essential piece of equipment, yet its story had never been told. That evening they resolved to tell it. That they are capable writers and have done an immense amount of homework is obvious. It is their accomplishment as paddlers, however, that lends great credibility to the book, for it is only by 'messing about in boats' that one can fully appreciate them.

While this volume is not inexpensive, the information and pleasure it provides will amply repay anyone who cares about the subject.

ELTON W. HALL
Curator of Collections

New Bedford Whaling Museum

A RECENT ACCESSION OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM

It seems curious that although the artist Winslow Homer was a native of Boston and devoted much of his output to New England subjects, the Peabody Museum had never acquired an example of his work. In 1984 this situation was rectified, with a generous bequest from the estate of Mrs. Charles Bird.

At the age of twenty-three, Homer left New England for New York, but he continued to spend summers in the Boston area and travel up and down the New England coast. During the summer of 1880, he moved to Ten Pound Island in Gloucester harbor, where he lived with the lighthouse keeper. Spending a majority of his time in the company of some local fishermen, during this interlude he produced more than one hundred watercolors and drawings, most of which were devoted to the town's fishing industry. The Peabody's recent accession, a pencil and gouache drawing entitled *Mackerel Fleet, Gloucester,* is an example of that summer's work. Signed 'W. H. 1880' and measuring 9½ by 13⅜ inches (sight), it portrays a fleet of eight mackerel schooners towing their seine boats, en route from the harbor to the fishing grounds. In the foreground, a rooster, his hen and a seagull are visible along the shore.

At an exhibit in Boston the following December, Homer sold around one third of his summer's work for prices averaging about fifty dollars. Although a later show in New York of some of the same group of pictures was less well received, the Boston show marked the beginning of the artist's popularity in his home town, and his reputation increased rapidly thereafter.

Paul Forsythe Johnston
Curator of Maritime History

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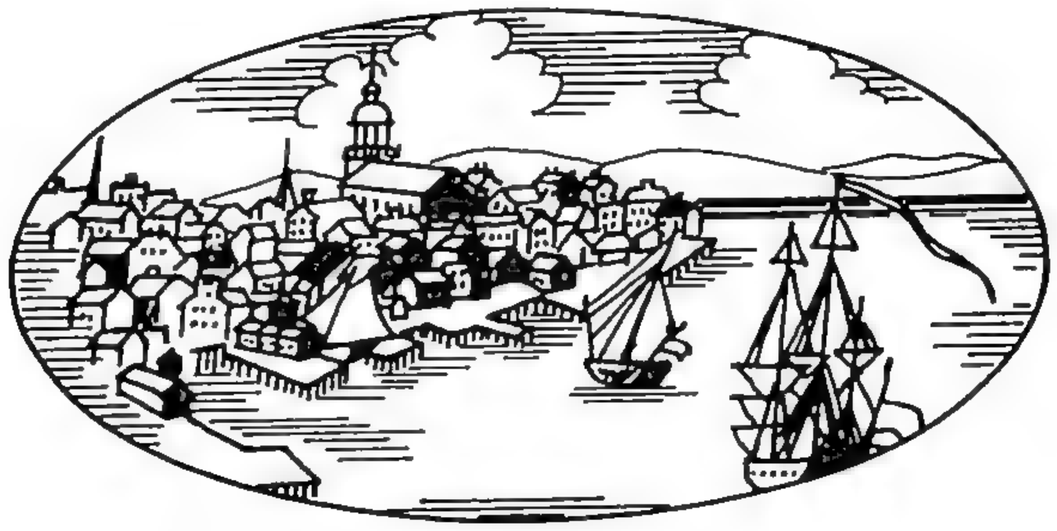

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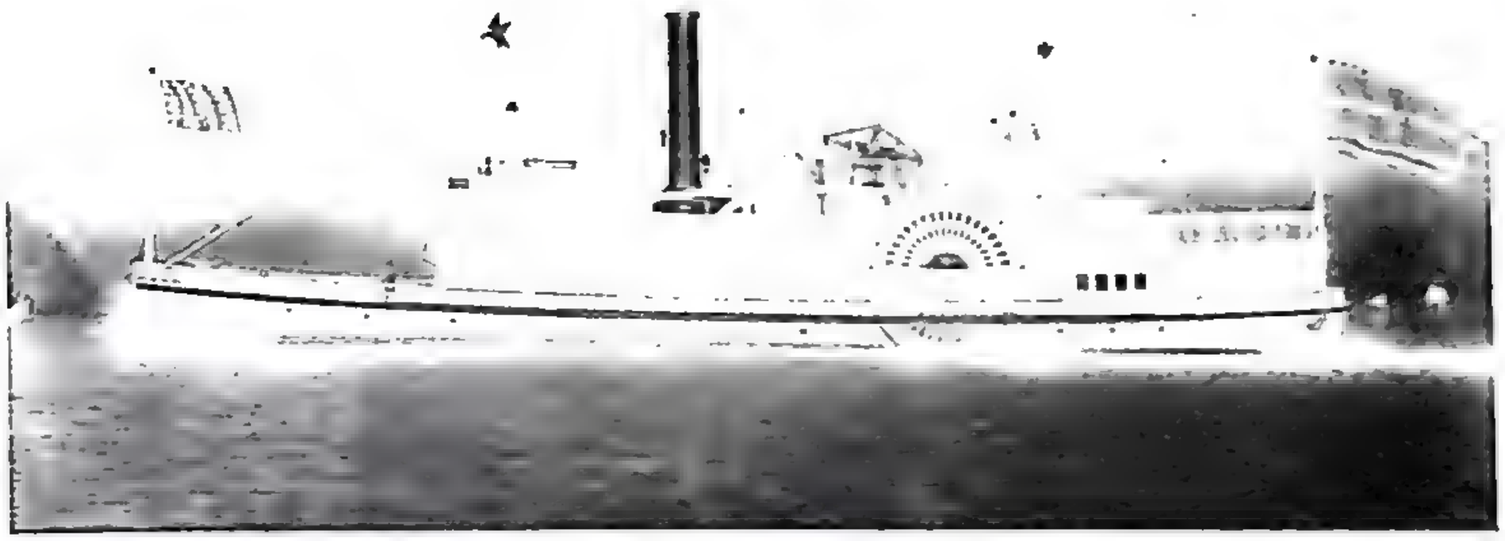

James Bard (American, 1815–1897) *Jacob H. Tremper*, 1885
Watercolor on paper, 21½ x 39½ inches. Signed lower right: "J. Bard, N.Y. 1885".

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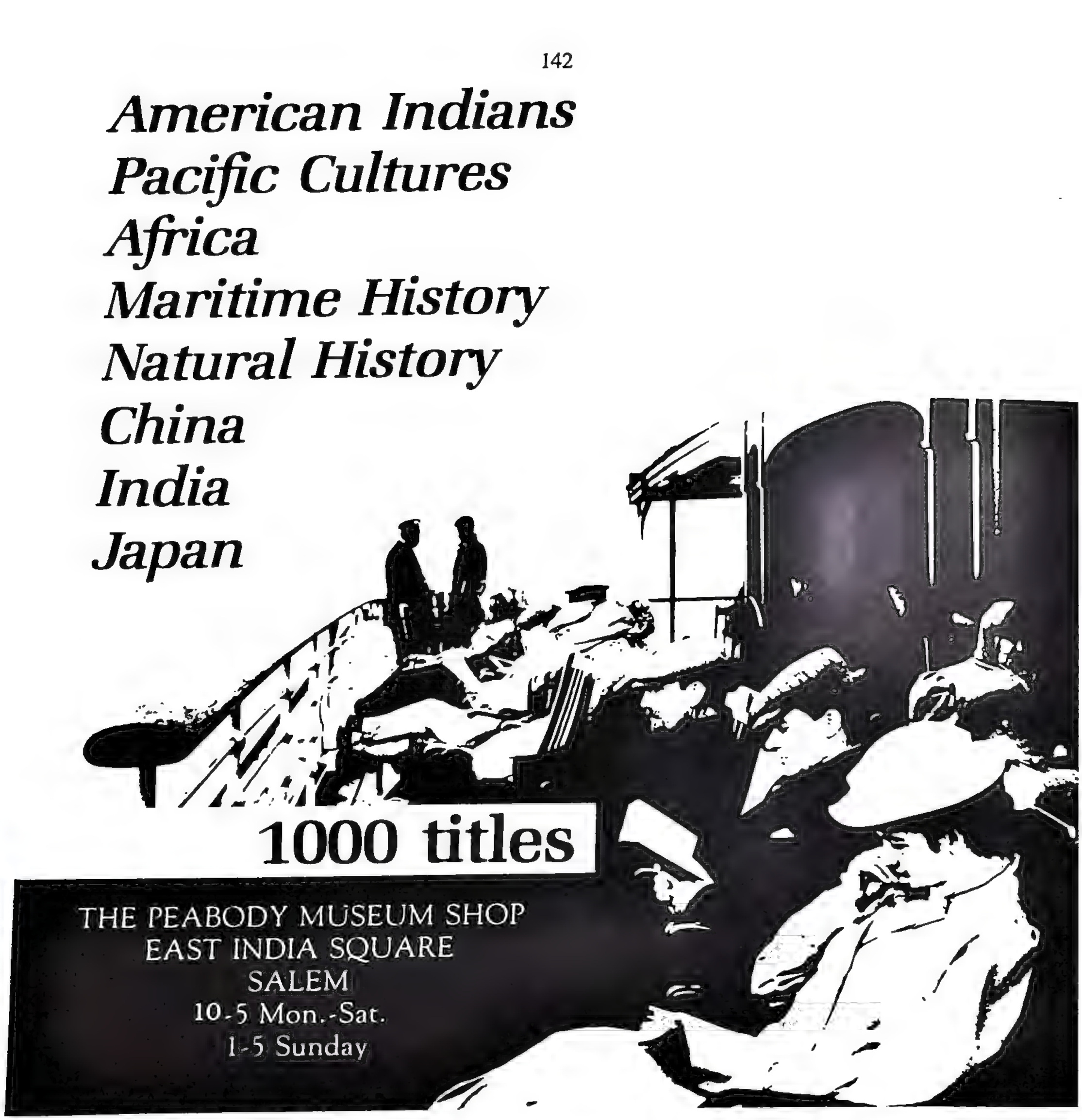

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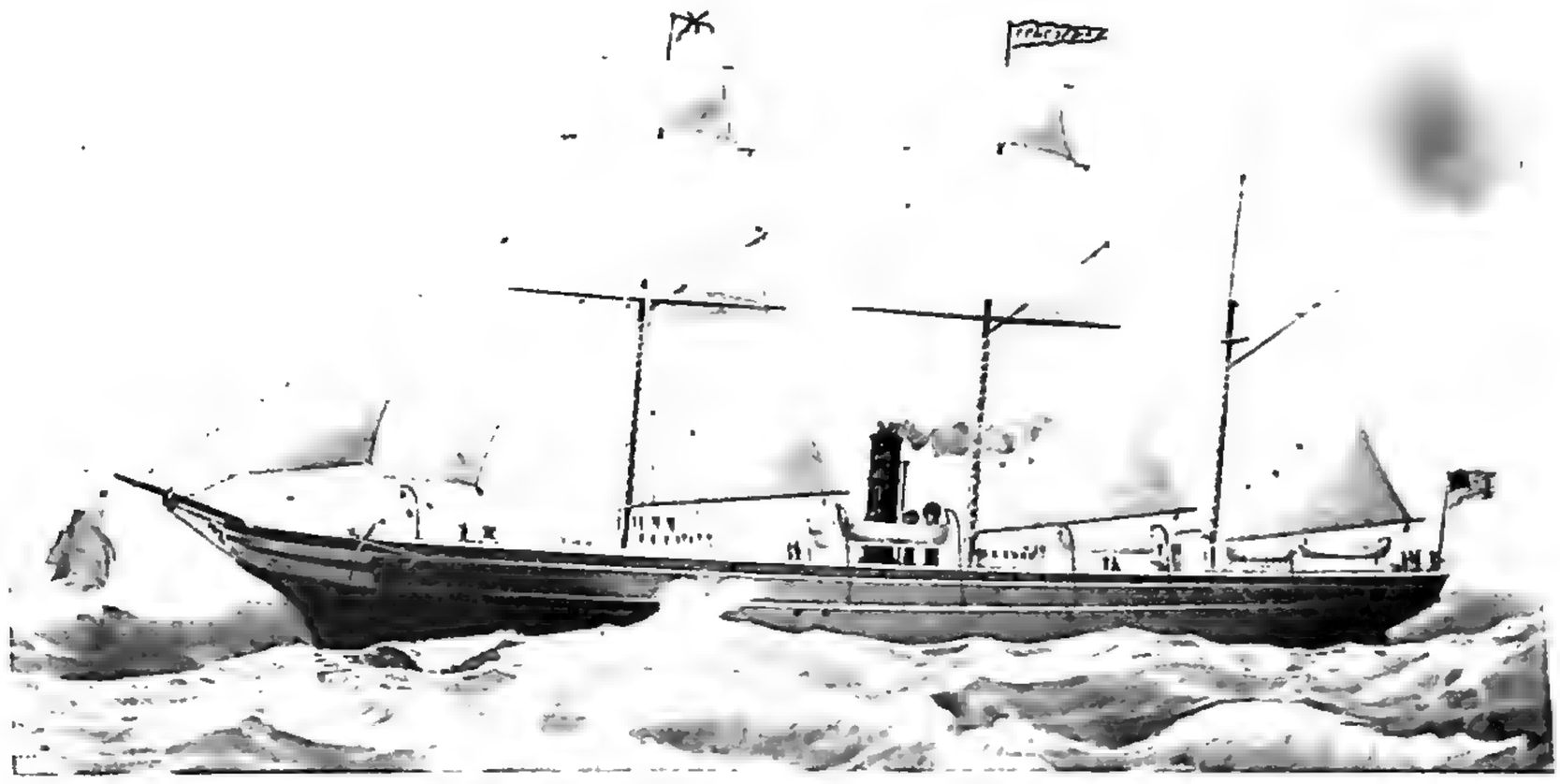

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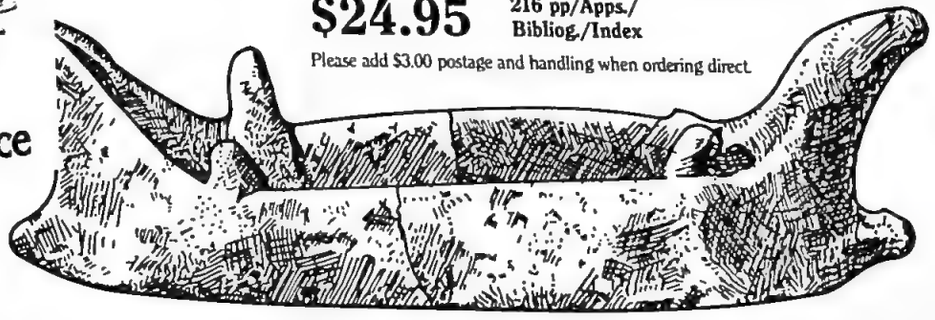

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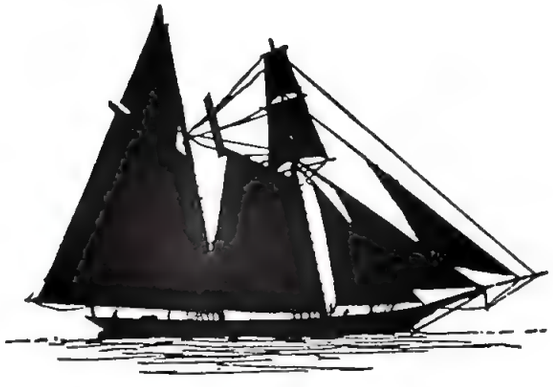

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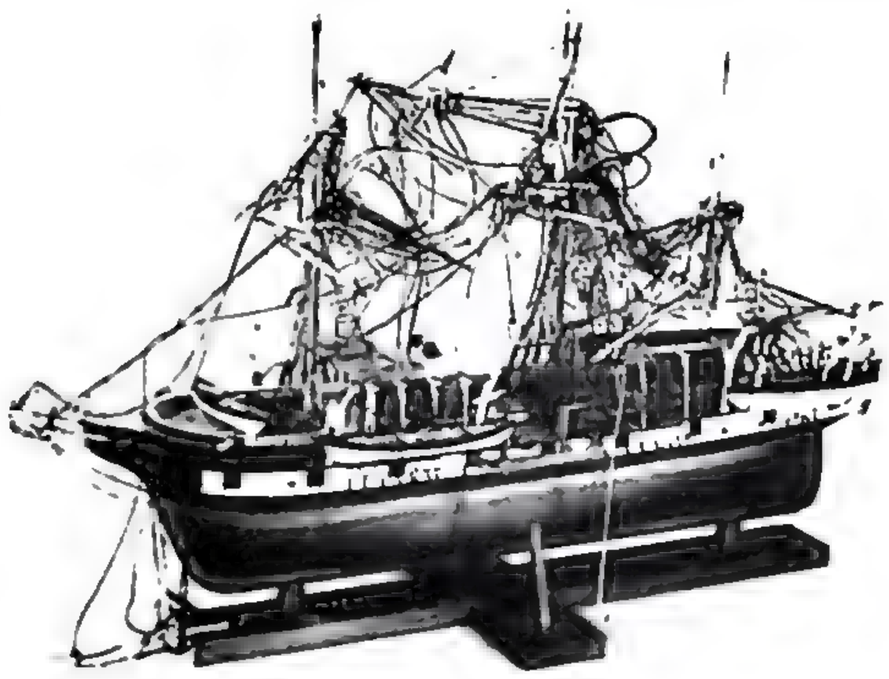

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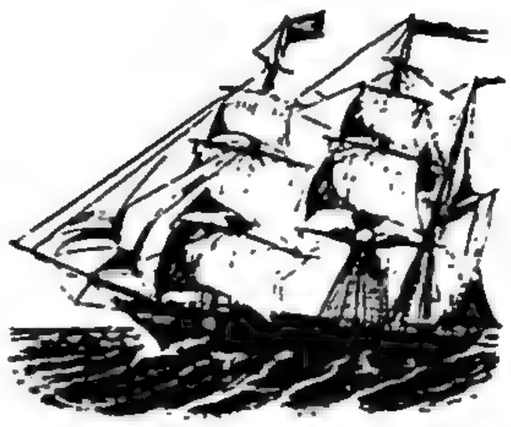

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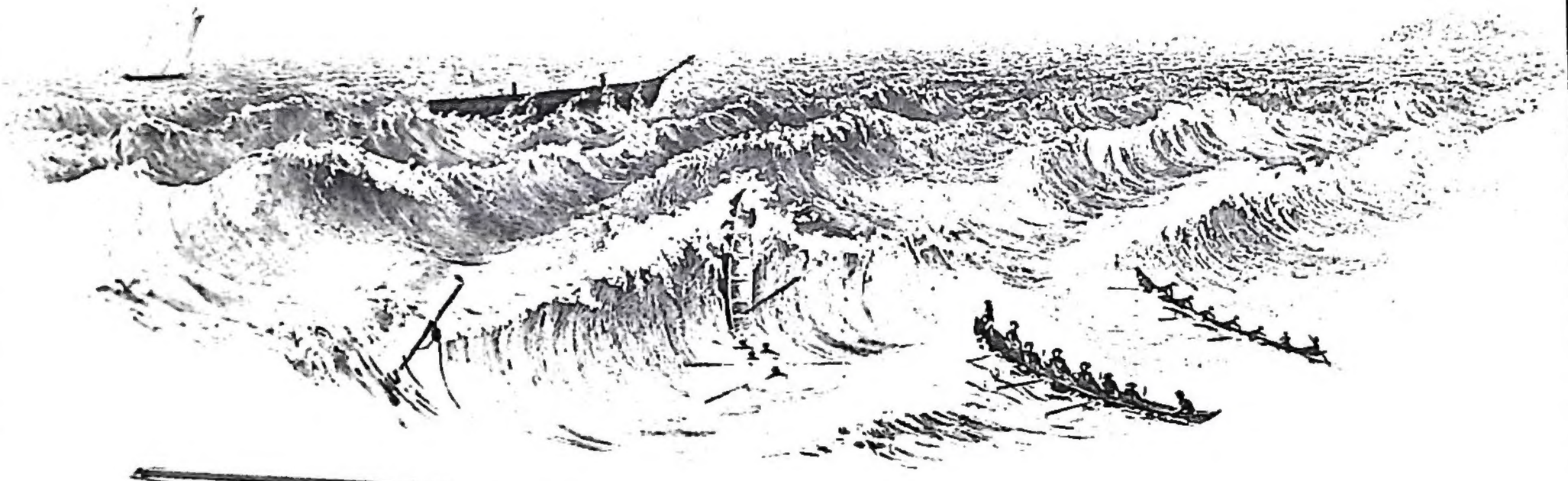

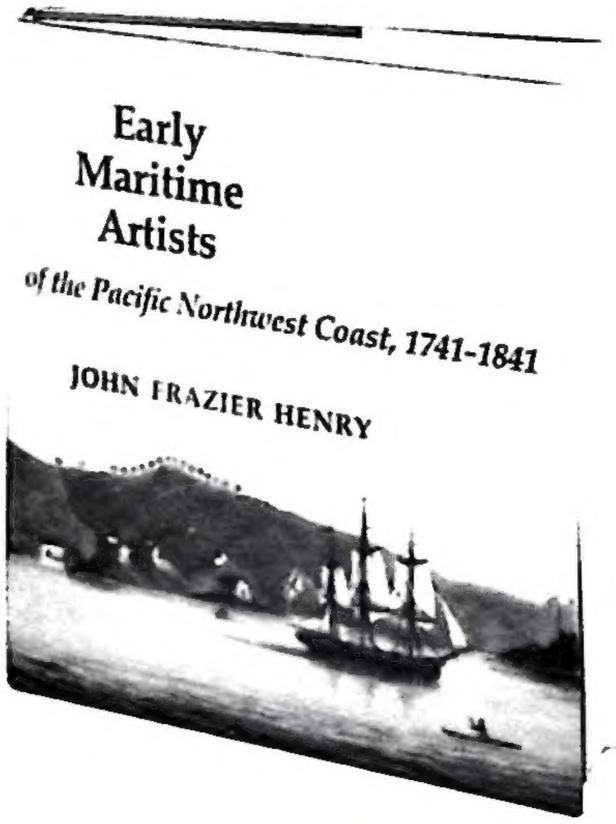

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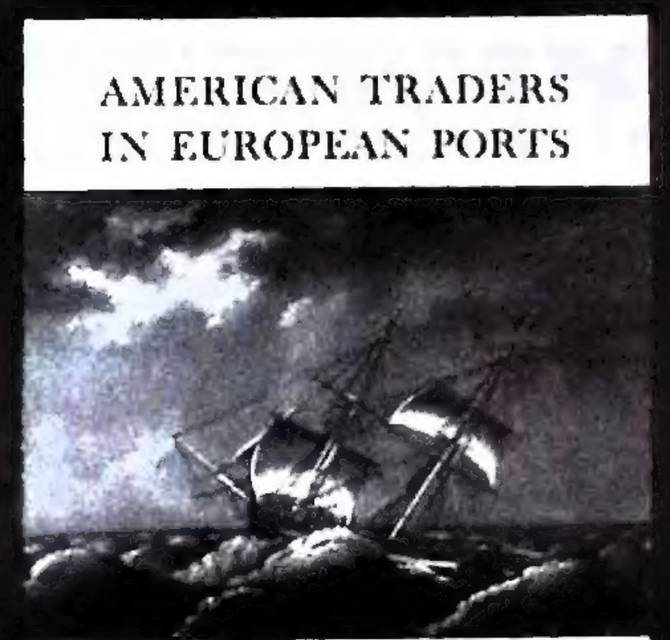

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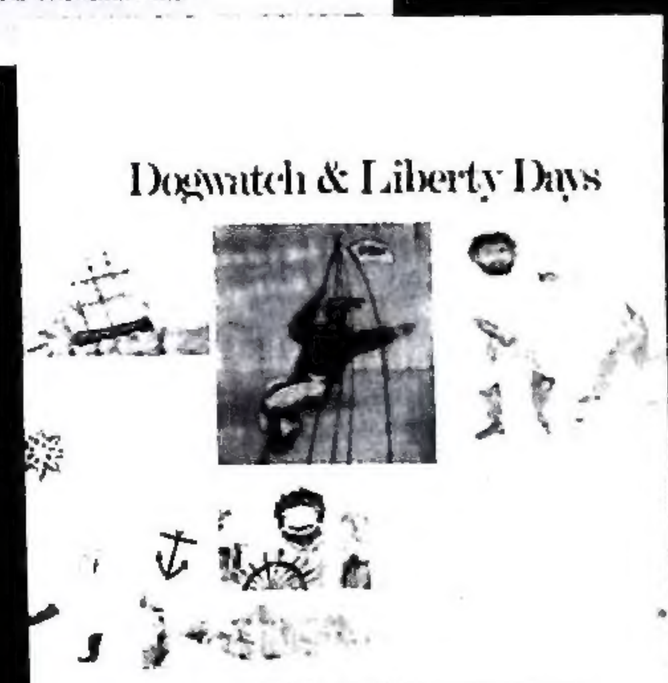

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